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THE TRAVELS OF  
JOHN SANDERSON

SECOND SERIES

No. LXVII

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OF  
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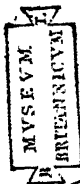
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670 2



In this booke appeares what hath passed  
in course and discourse, of the  
fortunes, and actions of my life;  
some in some, all; even to my  
very cogitationes; as in my self:  
Seruice et de beccia extacte,

from anno Domini. 1560.

To anno Domini. 1610.

March 31.

Lauree by the permission of  
Almighty God:

Admired, to the Age of 50 years

And yet am in my Pilgrimage

as long as shall please

by Divine Magistrie:

To us, to pray for  
ever, and ever

Amer?

THE TRAVELS OF  
JOHN SANDERSON  
IN THE LEVANT

1584 - 1602

With his Autobiography and Selections  
from his Correspondence

Edited by  
SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.

*Chief Cities, Towns, and Countries many  
(Which this vast Globe of Earth affords)  
I oft have view'd...  
In Ægypt, Syria, and the Land  
Of Promise (nam'd by holiest High)*

JOHN SANDERSON

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# CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	<i>page</i> ix
--------------	----------------

FULLER TITLES OF WORKS CITED	xliii
------------------------------	-------

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY	i
-------------------	---

## SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

His father's death (p. 21). The death of his mother (p. 22). His love affair (p. 23). His troubles with his apprentice (p. 24). His dealings with his sister Grace (p. 32). His accounts with his brother (p. 33). His will (p. 34)

THE TRAVELS	36
-------------	----

Sanderson's first visit to the Levant, 1584-88 (p. 36). Another account (p. 51). His journey to Holland, 1588 (p. 54). His voyage for the East Indies, 1590-91 (p. 54). His second visit to the Levant, 1591-98 (p. 55). A description of Constantinople, 1594 (p. 65). His third visit to the Levant, 1599-1602 (p. 84). Another account of the journey from Venice to London, 1602 (p. 92). His travels in the Holy Land, 1601 (p. 95). List of the vessels in which he sailed (p. 127)

SELECTIONS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE, 1586-1623	129
--	-----

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS	277
-------------------------	-----

APPENDICES	294
------------	-----

A. A note on Coins used in Turkey (p. 294). B. The death of Edward Barton (p. 296). C. John Midnall's Voyage in the Black Sea (p. 297)

ADDENDUM to note 1 on p. 35	298
-----------------------------	-----

INDEX	299
-------	-----

## ILLUSTRATIONS

The title page of the manuscript	<i>Frontispiece</i>
From <i>Lansdowne MS.</i> 241, f. 2	
Arms granted to Sanderson and his brother	<i>Opp. page</i> xxviii
From <i>Harleian MS.</i> 6095, f. 11 b	
Portrait of Sultan Murād III	58
From Knolles's <i>Turkish History</i> (1701), vol. 1, p. 369	
Map showing Sanderson's route through Asia Minor	62
Map showing Sanderson's travels in the Holy Land	96
Portrait of Sultan Mehmet III	142
From Knolles's <i>Turkish History</i> (1701), vol. 1, p. 455	
Portrait of Sir Paul Pindar	222
From an engraving in the Print Dept. of the British Museum (Pennant's <i>London</i> , vol. ix, no. 28)	
Map of Turkey	298
<i>In the Text</i>	
Sketch map of Constantinople and neighbourhood	<i>page</i> 83
Plan of Moorfields	289
The Jerusalem Cross	290

## INTRODUCTION

The British Museum manuscript which forms the basis of the present work is known as *Lansdowne 241*. It is a bulky folio, numbering (with a few inserted documents) 411 leaves, and is in excellent condition. From p. 20 below it will be seen that this and a companion volume (no longer extant) were bought by the author's father before 1560; and the statement is borne out by the watermarks on the paper, which (Mr Heawood tells me) are recognizably of that period. An interesting feature of the book is that, being originally intended for keeping accounts, it has at the end a roughly made cut-out index, apparently a very early example of such an appendage.

Of the history of the volume we know practically nothing. Sanderson left no direct descendant, and what became of his papers is a matter for conjecture only. All that can be discovered is that this item became in course of time the property of the well-known statesman William Petty, Earl of Shelburne and first Marquess of Lansdowne, who was an enthusiastic collector of old documents; and that it was acquired for the national collection in 1807, when the Marquess's manuscripts were sold after his death.

Its contents are heterogeneous. The main ingredient is a mass of correspondence, copied in either by Sanderson himself or by his apprentice, John Hanger, whose lack of interest in his task is shown by numerous errors. Most of the letters are in English, but not a few are in Italian, which was of course the chief medium of communication between Europeans in the Levant at that period. Many other documents relating to the owner's business transactions were naturally entered also, for reference purposes. Further, as Sanderson could not carry about with him a number of printed works, he took the trouble to copy out long extracts for after-reading, particularly of a theological nature. Thus we find a discourse on the Creation and Fall (obtained from his friend, John Speed), notes from Josephus, and extracts from St Augustine. Historical matter had also its attraction;



hence (ff. 154-172) full notes on the history of Rome, Spain, and France, copies of correspondence between Pope Clement VII and the Emperor Charles V in 1529-30 (ff. 208-9), and other documents of which the most important are specified at the end of the present volume. Lighter literature is represented by anecdotes and verses in Italian and English. In odd places there are miscellaneous jottings—recipes for making ink, remedies for diseases, scraps of verse, notes of sums owing, and so forth. Finally, and more to our purpose, we find an autobiographical memoir and transcripts of his narratives of his travels. The present volume, it need scarcely be said, contains but a small proportion of the matter crowded into the closely-written pages (over eight hundred in number) of the original. Selection was imperative, and the task has proved by no means an easy one. The aim kept primarily in view has been to illustrate Sanderson's own career, for it is not often that the opportunity occurs of studying intensively the life of an English merchant of Shakespeare's day; but at the same time a broad view has been taken, and it is hoped that nothing of permanent interest has been passed over.

Of the earlier part of our author's career an account is given in the autobiographical fragment with which this volume begins, and therefore only a summary need be attempted here. He was a man of good family. His father, Thomas Sanderson, was, he tells us, 'by descent a jentillman of the north contry'—possibly from Northallerton (see p. 32 *n*). The family was, we know, widely spread in the north of England and the Midlands, its most famous member being the Robert Sanderson who became Bishop of Lincoln in 1660. The elder Sanderson had migrated to London, where he established a business as a maker of caps and hats, and became a member of the Haberdashers' Company. His dwelling was under the shadow of St Paul's, on the north side; and there his eldest child, our traveller, was born in March 1560. His boyhood was a sad one, for he was of a sickly constitution and suffered much from ill-health. We gather too that he was of a peevish and resentful disposition, and therefore was unlikely to make friends; while his life at home was clouded by the long illness of his father and the consequent narrowing of

the family's means of livelihood. His schooldays (he was naturally sent to the neighbouring St Paul's School) were marred by the harsh discipline then in vogue, and he was glad to escape from their thralldom. A period of private tuition in writing and merchants' accounts followed, and then for a time he assisted in his father's shop. The business had once been prosperous; but the elder Sanderson was afflicted with a sore disease and gradually his trade declined. When John was seventeen, it became necessary to take some decision concerning his future career, and by the influence of an uncle he obtained employment under Martin Calthorpe, draper and merchant adventurer. In 1578 the lad was formally bound apprentice to him for a period of nine years<sup>1</sup>. About a year later (1579) the elder Sanderson died and was buried in the parish church of St Faith-under-Paul's. The widow continued to live in the house, though she let the greater part of it. Of her family of six, the two youngest had died in infancy. John was of course living in his master's house; Thomas, the second son, destined for the church, was at Oxford; and only two daughters, Jane and Grace, remained with the mother. The elder of these two girls died four years after her father.

In Calthorpe's employment Sanderson remained for seven years; and then in 1584 he was turned over (as he says, without his knowledge or consent) to the syndicate, rather than a company, that was conducting the trade with Turkey. Such a transfer was within the power of a master; but Calthorpe seems to have exceeded his rights, for he bound his apprentice to the 'Turkie Company' for four years, a period double the time still due to him. However, resistance was useless, and probably the young man, despite his protests, was not wholly averse from the adventure. In October 1584 he sailed for the Levant and in the following March arrived at Constantinople, where he had been placed at the disposal of William Harborne, the English ambassador. Harborne's salary and expenses were defrayed by the 'Company,' which thus provided him with an assistant at little

<sup>1</sup> Since Sanderson reckoned (p. 3) that by 1584 he had served seven years of this apprenticeship, we must conclude that its commencement had been antedated, so as to take in the twelve months which he had already spent with Calthorpe.

or no cost save for board, lodging, and clothes. He promptly made Sanderson 'maister of his howse,' by which seems to have been meant a kind of steward.

At the time when Sanderson reached Constantinople, a regular English trade in those parts was a plant of recent growth. Its establishment had been chiefly due to the enterprise of Harborne himself, who, backed by two leading merchants of London, Edward Osborne and Richard Staper, had in 1578 journeyed to Constantinople to negotiate with the Sultan (Murād III) for the necessary concession. In the following year he returned to London with a letter from the Sultan to Queen Elizabeth, assuring her that the traders for whom facilities had been sought should have similar privileges to those enjoyed by any other European nation. The Queen in her reply requested that the grant should apply, not merely to the two or three merchants concerned, but to 'all our subjects in generall'; and Harborne, on presenting the letter, had no difficulty in obtaining from the Sultan (June 1580) a licence to the desired effect, permitting also the establishment of English consuls in any part of the Turkish dominions, who should have full control over their fellow countrymen<sup>1</sup>. Thereupon steps were taken in London to organize the trade; and on 11 September 1581 letters patent were issued, granting a monopoly of the commerce for seven years to Osborne, Staper, Thomas Smythe<sup>2</sup>, and William Garret, with power to admit not more than twelve other merchants (besides two government nominees). The grant was contingent upon this syndicate driving (after the first year) such a trade that the customs thereon should amount to not less than 500*l.* a year; it might be determined by the Crown at any time upon giving a year's notice; and hopes were held out of a renewal at the expiration of the period for which it was to run (Hakluyt, vol. v, p. 192).

Difficulties were created by the intervention of the French ambassador at Constantinople, M. de Germigny, who, fearing the results of English competition, persuaded the Sultan to

<sup>1</sup> The correspondence and the Sultan's grant will be found in Hakluyt (vol. v, pp. 169 *et seq.*).

<sup>2</sup> Father of the better known Sir Thomas Smythe, Governor of the Levant, East India, and other Companies.

cancel the grant; but in 1583 Harborne, arriving with a fresh letter and presents from his royal mistress, was able to secure a renewal of the licence, despite the opposition of the French and the Venetians. He remained at Constantinople as ambassador until August 1588, and by his influence at court contributed powerfully to the establishment of English trade in the Turkish dominions. At the same time he was busily engaged in trying to induce the Sultan to attack the Spaniards, as the common enemy of the two countries; and if little actually resulted, he at least succeeded in embarrassing the Spanish court by the dread of such an attack, at the time when the great Armada was under preparation<sup>1</sup>.

To return to Sanderson. After spending six months at the capital, he was despatched in October 1585 to Alexandria in Egypt. The 'Turkey Company,' being, as we have seen, a very small body, traded at this period in a 'joint stock,' employing a number of factors in the East to sell the goods received from London and to invest the proceeds<sup>2</sup>. Sanderson's present mission was to assist a factor named William Shales in such transactions. There was, however, but a slow demand for their goods, while a consignment promised from Aleppo proved disappointingly small. As a result much of Sanderson's time was wasted during the eighteen months he spent in Egypt, though, as some compensation, he was able to see many things of interest, including the Pyramids, which he visited on two separate occasions. One experience he did not enjoy was a shipwreck near Rosetta, in going from Alexandria to Cairo, though happily he and most of his companions escaped unhurt from the disaster. At last, in March 1587, the factors quitted Cairo and proceeded to Abukir, where they embarked for Tripoli (in Syria). At that place Sanderson fell seriously ill; and he was still very weak when, in November of the same year, he sailed for England in the ship *Hercules*. That vessel, we may note, carried home a very rich cargo. We are told (p. 6) that an offer for it of 70,000*l.* was

<sup>1</sup> See an article by Sir Edwin Pears in the *English Historical Review* for July 1893, which narrates the efforts of both Harborne and Barton to stimulate action against Spain.

<sup>2</sup> The letters now printed (pp. 130-9) afford valuable information as to the condition of European trade in the Levant at this period.

declined, and that it realized much more when divided among the adventurers. Calthorpe's share came to 500*l.*, and it is interesting to find, from some accounts given on f. 387 *a* of the manuscript, that part of this consisted of indigo, a good quantity of which Sanderson sold (on Calthorpe's behalf) at 7*s.* and 7*s.* 2*d.* the pound—prices which show how much indigo was in demand among English dyers.

Our traveller arrived in London at the end of March 1588, and resumed his position in Calthorpe's establishment. His master was now an alderman, and had been sheriff; while in the following November he attained the dignity of lord mayor, and a few months later he was knighted. His civic duties took up much of his time, and in consequence Sanderson, as his right-hand man, found himself involved in heavy work and responsibility, which earned for him neither gratitude nor adequate reward. Even in the matter of obtaining from the Turkey Company some recompence for the services he had rendered that body in excess of his legal apprenticeship, Calthorpe refused to lend him any assistance; and it was only after his master's death that Sanderson managed to extract from the Company the sum of 25*l.* on that account.

It was now necessary to consider his future course of action. His experiences in the Levant had given him no desire to engage further in that trade, and he turned his aspirations in the direction of the Netherlands. With this purpose in view he determined to take up his freedom in the Merchant Adventurers' Company, for which his apprenticeship to Calthorpe had qualified him<sup>1</sup>. Here again his master declined to help, and, on being pressed, told him angrily to make at his own expense the necessary journey to Middelburg in Holland (then the centre of the Company). Sanderson took him at his word, and in June 1588 went thither and was duly admitted to the freedom. Thus qualified, he made overtures to Thomas Hayes, who was engaged in the Flanders trade and had, like himself, been apprenticed to Calthorpe through the good offices of Sanderson's uncle. Hayes showed

<sup>1</sup> Sanderson was registered at Drapers' Hall as having taken up his freedom in that Company in 1588, but, as he himself makes no mention of this, I assume that his freedom of the Merchant Adventurers was accepted later as equivalent to freedom of the Drapers.

no disposition to entertain the plan, objecting that Calthorpe might be offended; and so for a time the matter dropped.

In May 1589 Calthorpe died, while still in office; and in the imposing funeral that followed Sanderson, much to his satisfaction, bore a prominent part. The place of burial was the church of St Peter-le-Poor, in Broad Street; whence we may perhaps conclude that Calthorpe's house, in which Sanderson spent so many years, was in that parish. Lady Calthorpe, upon her husband's death, retired to Norfolk, whither Sanderson at her request accompanied her. There he fell in love with her niece, Margaret Calthorpe, who was acting as her waiting-woman; and his affection was returned. Prudence, however, forbade him to press his suit. He had no money, and little prospect of making any; Lady Calthorpe naturally disapproved; and the upshot was that Sanderson quitted her service and returned to London. For some years he seems to have cherished a sentimental regard for the young lady, though it would be going too far to suppose that the fact that he never married was due to this early love affair.

Faced with the necessity of deciding what steps to take to earn a livelihood, Sanderson was at a loss what to do. He would naturally consider the question of utilizing his experience of the Levant trade; but prospects were scarcely inviting in that direction. The 'Turkey merchants' privileges had expired in 1588, and no fresh grant had yet been obtained. Negotiations were going on with the Privy Council for a new concession; but the question was complicated by disputes with the merchants trading to Venice, who claimed a monopoly of the commerce in Crete, and there were others who petitioned for freedom to participate in the Levant trade; while a fresh perplexity was added by the war with Spain, which made the voyage dangerous to merchant vessels. So Sanderson again turned his attention to the possibility of entering the Flanders trade. Calthorpe's death having removed the former obstacle, he wrote once more to Hayes, begging for employment on any terms. Hayes, however, declined to consider the proposal, and Sanderson was thus once more thrown back upon his own resources.

He now engaged in an interesting project—nothing less than an endeavour to reach the East Indies by the Cape route, in

imitation of the Portuguese. The attempt is noteworthy as being the first venture of the kind on the part of English merchants. The expenses seem to have been borne by several of those who took part in the voyage, including Sanderson, who must therefore have scraped together some money for the purpose; and the command was given to the celebrated navigator, John Davis of Sandridge<sup>1</sup>. A start was made in September 1590, when the two vessels employed—a ship named the *Samaritan*, and a pinnace—sailed from Dartmouth. The voyage proved a succession of disasters. About Madeira a severe storm fell upon them, in which the pinnace sank, though her crew were rescued by another English ship. Several fights had taken place with Spanish vessels, and in one of these the *Samaritan* had been considerably damaged. The result was that she was forced to bear up for England, reaching Falmouth in February 1591. Borrowing a little money to pay his charges, Sanderson made his way back to London, disgusted with his ill-fortune and most unjustly blaming Davis for the failure of the venture.

Meanwhile the prospects of the Levant trade were growing brighter, and these were stimulated, we may surmise, by the return of Ralph Fitch in April 1591 from his epoch-making journey to India overland from Aleppo. The various contending parties came to an agreement, and on 7 January 1592 a charter was granted to 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of the Levant,' with Sir Edward Osborne as the first Governor and twelve Assistants. Fifty-three members were named in the charter<sup>2</sup>, together with twenty others who were to be enrolled upon application; power was given to admit also servants, factors, or agents; while the Crown reserved the right of nominating two more members. The charter was to run for twelve years, and the sphere of operations included not only the Turkish dominions

<sup>1</sup> As I pointed out in the *Geographical Journal* for August 1893, this expedition fills a gap in the career of Davis as related in the published biographies.

<sup>2</sup> Sanderson was not amongst them. He was, however, admitted at a later date, as shown by the Levant Company's letter to him of 9 March 1597 (*infra*, p. 166). His name also occurs in a list of members given in the Hist. MSS. Commission's *Report on the Salisbury MSS.*, part x, p. 216; but this is evidently of a date not earlier than 1599, for it mentions his apprentice, John Hanger.

and those of the Venetian republic, but also the trade 'by lande through the countries of the sayde Grand Signor into and from the East Indies lately discovered' by Fitch and his associates (Hakluyt, vol. vi, p. 73).

At the date of the issue of the charter Sanderson had already made his plunge, and had gone out again to Constantinople as factor for Mr Thomas Cordell. The trade, it would seem, was now being conducted, not as a 'joint stock,' but on a 'regulated' basis, by which individual members made their own arrangements for the actual operations abroad, the Company restricting itself to a general superintendence<sup>1</sup>. While acting mainly for Cordell, Sanderson sold and bought merchandise on behalf of other members of the Company, his remuneration taking the form of a commission upon each transaction; while in addition he did a certain amount of business on his own account. From an account sent to him in 1598 by his London agent, Nicholas Salter, and entered at f. 63 *b* of the MS., it appears that goods of his own to the value of 140*l.* were sent out to him in the *Minion* and *Charity* (insured, as to 100*l.*, at eight per cent.), a second consignment, costing 150*l.*, in the *Angel*, and a third, costing 100*l.*, in the *Hercules*. The profit on these transactions seems to have been a little over 102*l.*

Sanderson embarked upon his voyage in September 1591. He landed at Patras, in Greece, and continued his journey overland, reaching Constantinople on 12 March 1592. The English representative at that time was Edward Barton, who had been secretary to Harborne and had been left in charge upon the latter's departure, becoming in due time his accredited successor. He was therefore an old acquaintance, and he at once invited Sanderson to take up his quarters with him. The latter at first demurred, disliking (as he tells us) the dissoluteness of the ambassador's household; but the advantage of thus obtaining free board and lodging was probably an attraction, and after a time he relented and joined Barton. His disagreeable temper must have made him anything but a pleasant companion. As

<sup>1</sup> Dr W. R. Scott, in his *Joint Stock Companies to 1720* (vol. II, p. 84), expressed the opinion that the trade was conducted on a joint stock basis until nearly the end of the sixteenth century. The letters now printed, however, show that this was not the case.



the reader will notice, he scarcely mentions a single member of the English colony without tacking to his name some abusive epithet; and a quarrel with William Aldrich, during which Sanderson struck him several blows in the presence of the ambassador, so provoked the last-named that he 'laid his fists' on the aggressor and confined him to his chamber. Sanderson widened the breach by some disparaging remarks concerning Barton himself and was thereupon threatened with deportation to England. After a time the ambassador relented, and gave his turbulent guest a red velvet gown which had come from the Sultan; whereupon the latter consented to be reconciled, though still grieved 'in my very soule.' Soon after another quarrel happened—this time with Barton's steward. Having vowed in his rage not to eat or drink until he was revenged, Sanderson assaulted the culprit with the butt end of a pistol, which was broken in the fray. Barton was deeply angered by this second outbreak, and Sanderson himself grew alarmed at the possible consequences of the injuries he had inflicted; but in the end matters were adjusted by his paying the surgeon's bill, though nothing is said about compensation to his victim. There were further disputes with other members of the household; an outbreak of plague, which killed eight of their number, created a scare; and altogether Barton must have had an unhappy time during Sanderson's stay with him.

These domestic squabbles, however, were quite overshadowed by the exciting public events of the period. In January 1595 the Sultan, Murād III, died, and was succeeded by his son, Mehmet III, who signalized his accession in the usual fashion by strangling his nineteen brothers. Sanderson saw their bodies carried out for burial when the butchery was over. He also witnessed some outbreaks among the soldiery in the capital, mostly due to the depreciation of the currency in which they were paid. In July 1596 the new Sultan decided to proceed in person to the wars in Hungary, and prevailed upon Barton to accompany him—with the idea, it would seem, that he might be useful in negotiations for a peace. The ambassador appointed Sanderson to act as his deputy during his absence; and this honour, which brought him into correspondence with no less

a person than Sir Robert Cecil, was a source of great pride to him. The campaign lasted six months, and had an indeterminate ending, for although the fortified town of Erlau was captured by the Sultan's forces, in a later battle with the Imperial troops the Turks sustained severe losses and narrowly escaped defeat. Mehmet returned to his capital in January 1597, accompanied by Barton, whom Sanderson received with as much pomp as he could muster. Among the English merchants the chief event during the ambassador's absence had been a dispute at Aleppo over the appointment of a consul. Thomas Sandy, who had been designated to that post, died on his way to take it up; whereupon the English merchants resident there assembled and, rejecting the claim of George Dorrington, the vice-consul, to the vacancy, elected Ralph Fitch and wrote to Constantinople for confirmation. Barton, who seems to have unavailingly offered the appointment to Sanderson some time earlier, made no demur; but the Levant Company, on hearing of the matter, annulled Fitch's appointment and despatched Richard Colthurst to fill the vacancy. The latter arrived in June 1597 and at once took up his post. Apart from its interest in relation to Fitch, the incident is noteworthy as showing a tendency of the merchants on the spot to question the power of the home authorities in the matter of consular appointments.

In the autumn of 1597 Sanderson, who was still quarrelling with his associates, determined to return to England, in spite of Barton's entreaties. He accordingly quitted Constantinople on 23 September and made his way overland through Asia Minor to Aleppo, where he arrived on 6 November. There he fell ill, and three months elapsed before he recovered sufficiently to embark from Scanderoon (23 February 1598). Several weeks were spent in Cyprus, while the vessel laded salt at Larnaka, and Venice was not reached until 22 April. From that city, a month later, he started on his overland journey, by way of Innsbruck, Mainz, Cologne, and Flushing, reaching England at the end of June.

While Sanderson was lying ill at Aleppo, his friend Barton died at Constantinople and was buried on Halki (one of the Princes' Islands, in the Sea of Marmara) in the grounds of a

Greek monastery. Henry Lello, whom the Company had sent out in the previous March to act as Barton's secretary, took over the current duties of the higher post and was in due course confirmed as ambassador. One of Sanderson's correspondents condoled with him upon his ill-luck in having quitted Constantinople when he did, seeing that his having been previously employed as Barton's deputy would have given him a strong claim to succeed to the post. This might well have been the effect as regards the temporary vacancy; but in view of Sanderson's unpopularity it seems doubtful whether the authorities in London would have given him the permanent appointment.

On reaching London our author took up his quarters with his brother Thomas, who had been appointed vicar of St Lawrence Jewry, the well-known church adjoining the Guildhall. According to Strype's edn. (1720) of Stow's *Survey*, there was no parsonage or vicarage house for that parish until after the Fire of 1666 (bk. III, p. 49); and so Thomas Sanderson must have been renting a dwelling. The situation of this house is not known; but it could not have been far from the parish church. With Dr Sanderson was also living his widowed mother and his sister Grace; so that all the surviving members of the family were now reunited under one roof. In 1599, however, the circle was broken, first by the marriage of the sister (to whom John gave 153*l.* 'to better hir porcion') and then by John's departure upon a third spell of service in the Near East. The Levant Company had resolved upon a special effort. Their late representative, Barton, had enjoyed the favour and confidence of two successive Sultans to a degree that could not be expected in the case of the inexperienced Lello<sup>1</sup>; and, as explained later, a present to the Sultan, to mark his accession, was long overdue. It was now decided to send out, in the Queen's name, a unique gift in the shape of an organ with many wonderful qualities. Not only could this instrument be played in the usual manner, but it was fitted with various mechanical devices, by which the hour was struck, a chime of bells sounded, music in four or five parts was

<sup>1</sup> Barton's interference in political and ecclesiastical matters was regarded with some disapproval by his employers, and we find the latter warning his successor to confine himself to his proper duties.

played, and birds were made to sing and shake their wings. With the organ was sent its designer, Thomas Dallam, whose entertaining diary was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1893. In the same ship (the *Hector*) sailed Sanderson, who was to take up the official position of consul and treasurer at Constantinople. The reason for the latter appointment was somewhat curious. The cost of the present was considerable, and the Company was in debt at home; while the consulage levied in the East upon sales and purchases was, it would seem, insufficient to ensure the regular payment of the ambassador's salary and expenses (the latter of which would necessarily be increased by the outlay entailed by the ceremony of delivering the present). It was therefore enacted that a special levy should be made upon English goods arriving in Turkish ports; such levy to be treated as a loan, and bills to be given in each case, on presentation of which repayment would be made in London to the exporting merchant. This may seem a clumsy expedient; but the object was to avoid the risk and trouble of sending out cash. Naturally, it was necessary to appoint somebody to collect both the ordinary consulage and the special 'imposition,' and Sanderson was chosen for the purpose<sup>1</sup>. Of course he was still at liberty, as a member of the Company, to trade in the usual manner.

The *Hector*, accompanied by a pinnace bound for the Gulf of Venice, quitted the Thames on 16 February 1599, and after some delay, first in the Downs and then at Dartmouth and Plymouth, got fairly to sea a month later. After touching at Algiers and Zante, she anchored at Scanderoon in May, left

<sup>1</sup> Sanderson's commission, dated 11 February 1599 and signed by Richard Staper, Governor, and Henry Anderson, Treasurer, is entered at f. 65 *a* of the MS. He was to collect, in respect to goods sent out in the *Hector*, one and a half dollars on each broadcloth, and half a dollar on every kersey, on every cwt. of tin, on every hundred of cony-skins, and on every three pounds worth of other merchandise; while bills of exchange on the Company, at 5s. 6d. the dollar, were to be given in return. In addition he was to levy consulage, at the rate of two per cent., on all sales and purchases of goods. Out of the proceeds he was to pay the ambassador 3000 sequins a year. For Lello's immediate needs, Sanderson might draw a bill on the Company's agent in Venice for 1000 sequins. Possibly he would find it difficult to negotiate the bill, 'for that of all no ambassador hath no great credit with merchants, for that they accompt them lawlesse, if any default in pament'; in such case Sanderson must find some other way of helping Lello, 'and we will take speaciall order for the pament therof.'

again a few weeks later, and reached the Hellespont towards the end of July. Adverse winds delayed her further progress; so Sanderson quitted her and made his way to Constantinople in a Turkish vessel. Not until the middle of August did the *Hector* herself succeed in reaching the capital. For her reception and the delivery of the present by Lello (early in October) the reader must consult Dallam's narrative, for Sanderson has little or nothing to say upon the subject.

He was indeed full of his own troubles. One of these was the misbehaviour of John Hanger, the apprentice he had brought out, whose boyish pranks not a little angered his master. Chastisement was freely bestowed, but this led to complaints on the part of the lad's father, who even procured the intervention of the Secretary of State (Sir Robert Cecil) with the ambassador—to the intense mortification of Sanderson. This, however, was a minor evil compared with the general resistance he met with in his attempts to collect the 'imposition.' Not only was the levy unpopular in itself, but the rate of repayment was held to be unduly low. Some of the merchants contested the validity of the levy; others simply refused to pay. By invoking the authority of Lello, who was personally concerned in the result, Sanderson succeeded in collecting a part of what was due, though at considerable cost to himself. The bitter epithets with which (p. 18) he loads 'that contentiouse crue' show how intensely he disliked his associates. They on their part were not slow to exhibit their resentment; and some of their number did so in a very forcible fashion. Going in a body to Sanderson's room, one of them held him fast, while another struck him repeatedly in the face; then they departed, leaving him to vent his rage upon his grinning apprentice, who was severely beaten for not coming to his master's assistance. The latter's annoyance was doubtless increased by the thought that he was incurring all this odium and injury for a very small remuneration, which the Company, despite his appeals, declined to increase.

The Company was in fact in no position to be generous. The future of the traffic in spices—a most important feature of its commerce—was uncertain, owing to the efforts that were being made, both in England and Holland, to establish communication

by sea with the Far East, in defiance of the Portuguese claim to a monopoly of that route. The attempt of 1590-91, in which Sanderson had participated, had been followed up in April 1591 by a squadron under George Raymond and James Lancaster. The latter succeeded in getting as far as the Malay Peninsula and the Nicobar Islands, but was then forced to return, reaching England, after many adventures, in May 1594. A couple of years later, a fresh expedition started under Benjamin Wood. Two of the vessels reached the Straits of Malacca, but then met with disaster, one being abandoned and the other foundering in the Bay of Bengal. Meanwhile in 1595 a Dutch fleet, under Cornelis de Houtman, had sailed for the East; and this returned in 1597, having succeeded in reaching Sumatra. Encouraged by this result, no less than twenty-two ships left Holland on the same venture in 1598; and, as will be seen from a letter on p. 180 of the present volume, the merchants of London were faced by the prospect that the spice trade would be diverted to a new route, leading to a Dutch port. Spurred by the danger, in the autumn of 1599 the leading members of the Levant Company put up a large stock for a voyage to the East Indies; but the undertaking was frowned upon by the Queen, who feared that this encroachment upon the Portuguese preserves might hamper her in concluding a peace with King Philip. The check was, however, only temporary; a year later a similar scheme was successfully carried through, resulting in the foundation of an East India Company, the chief promoters of which had all been prominent in the Levant trade.

In addition to the uncertainty concerning the future of an important branch of its commerce, the Levant Company had other serious difficulties. The dubious outlook was discouraging its members from making large commitments—we find Sanderson urging his London correspondents to send him out goods, but without much success—and its finances were suffering accordingly. More startling still was a dispute which arose with the home government. In 1589, in retaliation for exactions laid at Venice upon English merchants, special customs duties had been imposed upon currants, wines, and oil imported from that city in foreign ships, and at a subsequent date this levy was extended

to the same goods when imported by English traders. The latter impost, however, was taken off again; and the Levant Company was staggered when, in May 1600, upon certain of its ships reaching Blackwall, payment was suddenly demanded of these special duties. Upon appealing to the Privy Council and giving bonds to pay the levy if adjudged reasonable, the merchants were allowed to land their goods; but they offered a resolute resistance to what they held to be an unjustifiable exaction, until in July the Privy Council forbade them to trade further until the dispute was settled<sup>1</sup>. It was ill contending with a needy government, especially as a group of outside merchants had made an offer to carry on the trade and pay the duties demanded (p. 207). So in August the Company came to terms with the Council. A fresh charter was to be granted; for the future a sum of 2000*l.* each half-year was to be paid for the privileges conferred; and the bonds already given were to be cancelled (*Reports on the Salisbury MSS.*, part XI, pp. 578–81; *Cal. S.P., Dom.*, 1598–1601, p. 450; *The Dawn of British Trade*, pp. 280, 282). Accordingly a new charter was issued to the existing Company in the usual terms, renewing its monopoly of the trade for fifteen years from the past Michaelmas, contingent upon the regular payment of the aforesaid 4000*l.* per annum; appointing Thomas Smythe to be the first Governor, and nominating twelve other members as the first Assistants. Among other provisions was one giving permission to the Company's ships to wear in their tops a flag with 'the armes of Englande withe a redd crosse in white over the same, as heretofore they have used.' The date of this document was 31 December 1600<sup>2</sup>—the very day on which the first charter

<sup>1</sup> See Epstein (p. 42) for statements that the Company had made itself unpopular by levying 5*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. on currants imported by foreigners or by non-members, and that this, not being expressly authorized by its charter, was in fact a breach of the royal prerogative. On that point it may be remarked that the charter gave the Company power to issue licences for such importations, and this seems to imply the right to charge for the permits, as otherwise the holders would be in a better position than the members. On the other hand, the levy of such a duty would naturally attract the attention of the authorities, from its resemblance to a customs duty, and its legality may well have been challenged. Possibly this is the explanation of the statement made in the 1600 charter that the grant of 1592 had been 'founde to be doubtfull and questionable in lawe.'

<sup>2</sup> See the *Patent Roll*, 43 *Eliz.*, part 5, f. 20, at the Public Record Office. The date given in a copy at the British Museum (*Harleian* 306, f. 75) is 30 December, but this is doubtless a slip.

of the East India Company was granted. It continued in force for the rest of the Queen's reign; but, soon after the accession of James I, the Levant Company, having evidently found its terms too onerous, took advantage of the proclamation against monopolies to surrender its charter, and was thereupon excused the payment of the last 2000*l.* due (*Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. XI, no. 379, and Gardiner, vol. II, p. 3).

While these things were happening at home, at Constantinople the chief preoccupation of the ambassador was to secure the grant by the Sultan of fresh capitulations. Those obtained by Harborne in 1583 naturally expired with the death of Murād III, and custom prescribed that a fresh grant should be preceded by the arrival of a special envoy with presents for the Sultan and his entourage. Barton had done his best to induce the Turkish ministers to waive both these requirements; but while willing to concede the point as to the special envoy, they were far too shrewd to dispense with the present and the attendant *douceurs* to themselves. The present, though given in the name of the Queen, had of course to be provided by the Levant Company; and its despatch was delayed by the financial embarrassments of that body, with the result that, as we have seen, its actual delivery did not take place until October 1599. Thereupon Lello, who had received by the same ship his letters of appointment as ambassador, pressed for a grant which should not only renew the old privileges but add fresh ones, particularly a reduction of the customs dues levied on English trade and an agreement that Dutch merchants should count as English. The latter claim had caused a long-standing dispute with the French ambassador, who argued that all foreigners not separately represented at Constantinople came of right 'under the French banner,' and did not hesitate to spend money freely to obtain a decision to that effect, seeing that it involved not merely the national prestige but a considerable annual revenue from the sums paid by the Dutch as consulage. However, Lello, though always, like his predecessor, short of cash, managed to find enough to bribe Khalil Pasha (the Deputy Grand Vizier) and Cigala-oghlu (the Grand Admiral); and by their influence a draft, embodying all the English demands, was approved by the ministry and submitted to the Sultan, who countersigned it. But before the necessary



formalities could be completed there came (March 1600) an outbreak of the spahis, enraged by the depreciation of the currency in which they were paid, and directed largely against the Jews and certain favourites of the Sultan and his mother. The latter's chief agent in collecting bribes, a Jewess, was brutally murdered<sup>1</sup>, as was also one of her sons, who was the chief customs official; while the mutineers demanded likewise the heads of three of the Sultan's chief advisers and the banishment of his mother. With considerable difficulty they were pacified and induced to forgo these demands; but the disturbance cost Khalil his place. His successor, Hāfiz Ahmad Pasha, was not favourably disposed towards Lello, and in any case saw no reason why he should help him without the stimulus of a bribe; he therefore refused to agree to the renewal of the capitulations except in their original form. In vain the ambassador pointed to the fact that the Sultan had given his approval; the new minister persisted in regarding this as the act of his predecessor. A pause ensued, during which Lello, who was not prepared to spend any more money without sanction and knew moreover that the question concerning the Dutch had been much canvassed in London, awaited definite instructions. The downfall of Hāfiz early in 1601 encouraged the Englishman to reopen negotiations, and he was strongly backed by his ally, Cigala-oghlu, by whose aid the opposition of the French ambassador was at last overborne. In April 1601 the Venetian envoy (to whose despatches we are mainly indebted for the foregoing account) reported that the Sultan had decided in favour of the English contention as regards the Flemings, and that the capitulations were about to be ratified (*Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. ix, No. 976). A letter from Lello, apparently addressed to the Governor of the Levant Company (*Brit. Mus. Nero B xi, f. 104 a*), stated that on the previous day the matter had been brought before 'the Gran Signors whole counsell': that 'the admirall' (Cigala-oghlu), now the Sultan's 'principall counsellour,' lent his powerful assistance: and that in consequence 'the cause was sentenced with a generall voyce of the whole bench of bassas, and confyrmed of the King himself, that for

<sup>1</sup> Sanderson, who seems to have enjoyed such spectacles, saw her dismembered remains paraded round the city (p. 85).

the Flemings the French should not meddle therewith, as in most reason belonging to the Queene of England.' Unfortunately the letter is incomplete and the date is missing; but similar intelligence was sent to Cecil in Lello's letter of 23 May 1601 (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. iv, f. 136). Certain it is that, when Sanderson sailed for Sidon in the middle of May, he carried with him translations or copies of the capitulations for delivery to the consul at Aleppo (see p. 220) and to the Levant Company at home (*Nero B xi*, f. 105 b). Luckily he took the precaution of copying the document into his book; and since, so far as I can discover, no other copy, manuscript or printed, is available, this has been printed at p. 282 of the present volume.

To return to Sanderson himself. By the autumn of 1600 he was contemplating a return to England, though he refrained from coming to an actual decision, in hopes that the goods for which he had written would be sent out to him. His correspondents, however, were despondent<sup>1</sup> of the value of the trade (p. 204), and by the following January he had fully determined to go home, and only awaited the arrival of the *Mermaid*, which would afford him the desired opportunity. As she would be going round by Scanderoon and must make some stay in that port, he proposed to utilize the interval for an excursion from Aleppo to Jerusalem. An even better plan presented itself later; finding that the ship was to call at Sidon, he decided to land there and proceed to his destination by way of Damascus. The *Mermaid* quitted Constantinople on 14 May 1601 and reached Sidon at the beginning of June. Sanderson arrived in Damascus on the 12th of the month and, after a stay of ten days, set out on his journey in company with a party of Jews that had come in the ship from the Turkish capital.

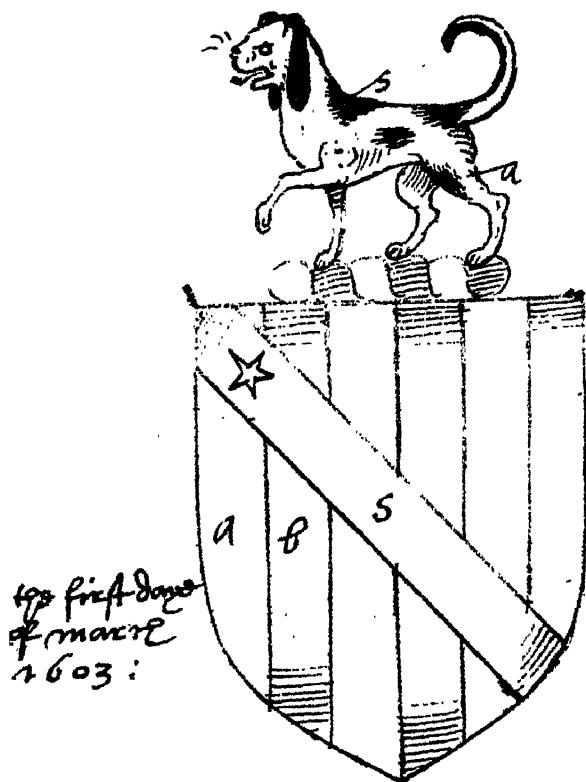
Jerusalem was reached on the last day of June; and our pilgrim soon found himself in trouble with the Turkish authorities for having entered the city wearing his sword, which in a Christian was a dire offence. His stubbornness on the point nearly landed him in prison, but his Jewish companions at last persuaded him to take the wiser course of compounding his

<sup>1</sup> Unnecessarily, it would seem, for a great increase in English trade at Constantinople a few years later is indicated at pp. 241, 254, 270.

offence by a present of money and the forfeiture of his weapon. Sanderson then took up his residence with the Greek Patriarch, to whom he had brought letters of introduction from the Patriarch of Constantinople. This brought him into collision with the Roman Catholic Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre, who claimed the superintendence of all visitors of Western nationality. The competition for pilgrims (and for the profit derived from their liberality) was keen, and the Guardian appears to have been much angered by the Englishman's refusal to have anything to do with him. A little later, on Sanderson's attempting to visit the Holy Sepulchre, the Catholics raised a hubbub, declaring that he was not a Christian, but a Jew. The squabble was carried to the Qadi, who scolded the complainants and dismissed the case. After a time the friars relented and invited Sanderson to go into the Sepulchre; but he scorned to accept their overtures, especially as he had already seen all that he wanted to see. An aftermath of these disputes occurred at Tripoli, in Syria, during his subsequent stay at that port. He alleges that he was twice fired at by an old friar, under pretence of shooting at birds; and this, in Sanderson's belief, was a deliberate attempt to murder him, made in consequence of incitements from the Jerusalem Catholics.

Our traveller remained in Jerusalem until 8 July, assiduously visiting the holy places and making excursions to Bethlehem, Hebron, etc. The return journey to Damascus was made in the company of his Jewish friends, who obligingly varied the route in order that he might see more of the Holy Land. Thirteen days brought them back to their starting-point; and then on 11 August the party set out for Tripoli, by way of Ba'albek. Arrived at the port, Sanderson took leave of his fellow pilgrims and, after waiting until the middle of February 1602 for the opportunity of a passage, embarked in the *Edward Bonaventure*. In this vessel he proceeded to Scanderoon and thence to Zante, where he changed into the *Cherubim* and voyaged in her to Venice, which was reached on 8 September. From that city he departed a week later, and journeyed by way of Innsbruck, Augsburg, Stuttgart, Strasbourg, Nancy, Paris and Rouen to Dieppe. There he procured a passage in the *Vanguard*, of the royal navy, and so reached London on 25 October 1602.

John Sanderson & to his Brother  
Thomas Dorrbor of Dorchester



Cœlum patria, Christus, vin

ARMS GRANTED TO SANDERSON AND  
HIS BROTHER.



This was the end of Sanderson's experiences abroad. He had realized by his trading sufficient to keep him in comfort as a bachelor, and he now settled down to enjoy the rest of his days in idleness. Though he was not much over forty, he does not seem to have contemplated matrimony; for, six years later, referring to the marriage of certain wealthy widows, he told a correspondent that 'I looke not after any, better likinge a free single life then with more welth to be subjected to woomans humors' (p. 255). As before, he made his home with his brother the parson, with whom their mother was still living, in the parish of St Lawrence Jewry. For a while he exercised his privileges as a member of the Levant Company by sending out a little merchandise for sale; but he soon discovered that this was not worth while (p. 288), and when, at the end of 1605, the Company obtained a fresh charter from King James, Sanderson's name no longer figured in the list of members. Evidently he found a better employment for his capital in lending out money on mortgage; and it is interesting to note that in this connexion he made some use of the services of John Milton, the poet's father (p. 287).

Family pride was strong in Sanderson. On 1 March 1604 he obtained from William Camden, Clarenceux King-of-Arms, a grant of arms for himself and his brother Thomas, consisting of the arms and crest of the Sanderson family, with a slight difference and a new motto: *Coelum patria, Christus via*<sup>1</sup>. He also opened up communication with a relative in the north, who was no less a personage than Henry Sanderson, Constable of Brancepeth Castle; and at the latter's suggestion he put together an account of his travels, which, it can hardly be doubted, was identical with the one here printed. There is no sign that he ever kept a regular diary; but in his 'book' he had from time to time noted down the stages and dates of his various journeys, with the result that he already possessed the skeleton of his narrative, while the rest he evidently filled in from memory. It must be confessed that the results are disappointingly meagre; in fact only the portion relating to his travels in the Holy Land—the

<sup>1</sup> See Brit. Mus. *Harleian MSS.*, nos. 1422, f. 69, and 6095, f. 11 b. The latter drawing has been reproduced in the present volume. Sanderson gives a slight sketch of the arms (but without crest or motto) on f. 104 b of his manuscript.

most recent, and probably in his view the most interesting—is treated at any length. The task was finished by February 1604, as shown by a letter given on p. 225; and probably we shall be right in concluding that the autobiographical fragment now printed was written at the same period. The account of his travels was originally (I take it) entered, not in the extant manuscript<sup>1</sup>, but in the companion volume (now lost) to which reference is made on p. 20; though he afterwards copied it into the surviving manuscript, and thus provided the basis of the text used in the present work. This was probably done as a precaution against the loss of the volume containing the original; and we may assume that the copy was made at the time (February 1604, or a little later) when that volume appears to have been sent to Henry Sanderson for perusal. It was reclaimed by its owner five years later (p. 261).

Our author's satisfaction at his discovery of his highly placed relative was soon somewhat alloyed. Probably the Constable found it no easy matter to secure the regular payment of his salary from his royal master; at all events he was evidently short of money, and he seems to have made use of John Sanderson's services to obtain a loan of 50*l.* from the latter's friend Nicholas Salter. The money was not repaid at the appointed date, nor was any notice taken of letters of expostulation; and as a result we find John writing (March 1605) a dignified remonstrance to his 'cousin,' deploring his behaviour and warning him that Salter intended to sue him for the amount (p. 230). Whatever the issue, the incident did not make an irreparable breach, for John afterwards paid a visit to these northern cousins, and we know that he stood godfather for two of the children of Samuel Sanderson (the son of Henry). What is more, he either took over the liability to Salter or else lent them fresh money, for in the codicil to his will he directed that certain legacies to these children were not to be paid unless the debts of their father and grandfather had been discharged (p. 35).

<sup>1</sup> This conclusion is based upon a comparison of the version in *Lansdowne MS.* 241 with that printed by Purchas, which, as explained later, is believed to have been derived from the missing manuscript. Not only is Purchas's the fuller version, but in the *Lansdowne MS.* we find from time to time words and even whole sentences omitted, evidently as the result of hasty copying.

In November 1603 Dr Thomas Sanderson was appointed rector of All Hallows the Great, Thames Street. It is not certain that this involved his quitting his dwelling in the parish of St Lawrence Jewry; apparently it did not, for on p. 115<sup>n</sup> we are told that one of the London committees for the revision of the Bible held its meetings at his house there. This committee, of which Dr Thomas Sanderson was a prominent member, dealt with the section Romans-Jude, and made use in its labours of an old Greek manuscript which our traveller had bought at Constantinople. However, in May 1606 Thomas took unto himself a wife (p. 33), and presumably this necessitated the departure of John to an abode of his own, though his mother appears to have remained with Thomas until her death at the beginning of 1612. In what part of London John lived for the rest of his days we do not know, but there are indications that it was somewhere in the parish of St Giles, Cripplegate. In his will he left 'gowns' to the curate and clerk of that church: in October 1606 he took a share in the planting of the neighbouring Moorfields (p. 288): and (for what this is worth) we know that (p. 239) he was on friendly terms with the historian John Speed<sup>1</sup>, who lived in Moorfields and was buried in St Giles'.

Sanderson doubtless found no difficulty in filling his time pleasantly. Several of his old Levant acquaintances were settled in London, and in addition he knew many other merchants of standing; hence the references in his letters to his attendance at marriages and other social functions. He was a regular frequenter of the Royal Exchange, where he gathered and imparted gossip. Some further occupation was afforded by his connexion with the Drapers' Company; he took up his livery in that body in 1604, and was a member of the Court of Assistants from 1618 until his death<sup>2</sup>. Occasionally he would 'goe to a merry comedie' (p. 232); and he seems to have taken an interest in current

<sup>1</sup> When in 1610 Speed published his *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, among the commendatory verses prefixed was a poem by Sanderson, in which he refers with some complacency to his own travels. The quotation on our title-page is taken from this effusion.

<sup>2</sup> For this and other information concerning his connexion with the Drapers' Company I am indebted to the Clerk (Mr Pooley) and the Librarian (Miss Greenwood).



literature, for he sent several books as gifts to his friends abroad, and we may presume that he did not choose them haphazard. Furthermore, he had, like Milton, the resource of music. That he was himself a performer we know from the facts that in 1587 he possessed a lute (p. 5) and that in 1600 he wrote from Constantinople to a friend at Venice, asking for the supply of '40 to 50 knotts of the best lut[e] strings' (*MS.*, f. 279 *b*). The verses quoted on p. 24 are a further proof of his acquaintance with the music-books of the time.

From the commencement of his retirement Sanderson kept up a correspondence with his friends at Constantinople. The most notable of these was his old acquaintance Thomas Glover, who in the summer of 1606 was knighted and despatched to the Turkish capital to take over from Lello the post of ambassador. The latter was in no hurry to leave, and from pp. 235-9 it appears that there was considerable bickering between him and Glover. At last, in May 1607, Lello took his departure and proceeded leisurely, by way of Venice (*Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. xi, no. 65), to England. In January 1608 his services were rewarded by a knighthood. At first relations between him and Sanderson were fairly amicable; but this did not last long, for in November 1608 the latter, who had been urging Glover to moderate his complaints against his predecessor, wrote inciting him to prosecute the quarrel with greater vigour. One reason for this change of front was that Sanderson suspected Lello of taking part against him in a lawsuit in which he had become entangled with a Mrs Lough, the sister of the previous ambassador, Edward Barton, and his brother Robert, who had died at Constantinople in 1606. Sanderson had had business dealings with the latter, and Mrs Lough, as administratrix of the estates of both brothers, made demands upon him which he resisted. The case dragged on until February 1611, when, to his intense disgust, he was suddenly arrested at the lady's suit. This brought matters to a head, and he quickly settled the claim. At that point the extant correspondence comes virtually to an end, for want of space in the book that has survived. There must have been a great deal more: but this, presumably, was entered in the companion volume which is now missing.

The letters printed in the present work contain several references to a couple of visitors from Turkey whose appearance in London excited considerable interest. The first of these was a Turk named Mustafa, who arrived towards the end of July 1607, announcing himself as an ambassador from the Sultan, though he did not venture to assume any higher appellation than that of *Chāush* (messenger). As a matter of fact, he was a person of no standing and his visit to England was a side-issue. He had left Constantinople in 1605, as a courier in attendance upon the returning French ambassador in the latter's leisurely journey through Palestine and Egypt to Marseilles; but, being a man of enterprise, he had somehow procured from the Sultan letters to the kings of France and England, upon the delivery of which he hoped to receive from each monarch a handsome reward. In November of 1605 Lello had informed Lord Salisbury of this, adding that he had complained to the Vizier of the dishonour done to his royal master by entrusting letters to 'such a petty fellow' (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. v, f. 38); while on p. 244 of the present volume Glover declares that ample warning had been given, by himself and others, 'what manner of man he was and to what end his employment intended.' Evidently, however, James's ministers hesitated to take any action that might offend the Sultan; and probably the fact that the envoy had actually been received by the French king (though only after a long delay) induced them to admit his claims to like treatment. According to custom, the burden of providing him with board and lodging was laid upon the Levant merchants, as the body chiefly concerned in maintaining amicable relations with Turkey; and they appear to have entertained him handsomely, though with some repining<sup>1</sup>. Writing to Salisbury on 8 August they complained

<sup>1</sup> A letter in Brit. Mus. *Nero B xi* (f. 245 a), addressed to Sir Edward Hoby in August 1607, says: 'For the person of this Mustapha, hee seemes, to me and others that have visited him, a man of a goodly presence and a gallant spirit, sociable, affable, and full of intertainment to all comers, and one who, to give the better content to those that come to see him, is content to dispense with some of his Turkish fashions and to accustome himselfe to ours; for, being invited to accompany Sir Thomas Low, Governour of the Company, to diner, I saw Mustapha sitt in a chayer at the bourdes ende and drinke a solemne helth to the King of Great Brittain and the Grand Signor.' After narrating the envoy's journey and his experiences in France (where he was evidently an unwelcome guest), the letter goes on: 'Many other thinges he

that the envoy was a great burden and urged that he should be given an early audience and got rid of as soon as possible (*S.P., Foreign*, vol. 110, p. 17); while to Glover they wrote (*ibid.*, p. 18) that he was costing them about 5*l.* a day, that they had had to defray all his expenses since his arrival at Dover, and that he was making them find even the thread to mend his clothes. The absence of King James, who was on progress, delayed an interview, and it was not until September that the *Chāush* was publicly received at Windsor and presented the letter he had brought, the chief contents of which were complaints of the depredations committed in the Mediterranean by pirates sailing under English colours. A private interview with His Majesty followed a few weeks later. We gather that, while it was denied that the pirates could possibly be of English nationality, assurances were given that, if any were caught and proved to be such, they would be severely punished. At last, in November 1607, Mustafa took his departure, much discontented that neither from the King nor from the Levant Company had he succeeded in extracting a present. The Company, however, went so far as to provide him with a return passage in one of their ships, and he reached Constantinople in safety on 12 May 1608. Salisbury had instructed Glover to do his best to procure for the returning

reporteth of the perfidy of the French nation, and saith he liketh neither their fashions nor dyet, their meat being so larded with hogsflesh as he could not eat of it. During his abode there the King allowed him 15 crownes a day; and in fine dissuaded him, as did also our ambassadour, from coming hither; but all in vaine, and so he gott a passe from Sir George Carew, and would not land at Dover till he had indented with Sir Thomas Waller that he should be defrayed during his aboad. He is come but slenderly attended with some dozen of Turkes, wherof three onely are civilly apparelled, the rest looking like the ambassadours that came to Josua with old shooes and threedbare apparel. For his owne person he hath many changes of garments, very rich, and several turbants, and hath brought with him, either for presents or for a pledge in time of necessity, 21 pieces of cloth of gold and silver, valued at 1000 markes. His employments, he saith, have bene five times to Venice, once into Persia, once into Tartary, twise into France, and now the first of his nation that ever came into England....As concerning his message...he saith ther is much talke at Constantinople and Marselles of English pirates in the Levant seas, but he saith that in all his long journey he could meet but with one, nor could he hear of any more; but of French and Italian corsares as many as were haire in his bearde....Mustapha desires to be dispatched, and to returne home, not by the way of France but by sea; but he will hardly gett his audience till the King come to Salizbury. His table standes the merchants in some 4*li.* a day.'

envoy a favourable reception, and accordingly the ambassador obtained for Mustafa an audience with the Sultan, who gave him a vest of cloth of gold as a token of approbation; and Glover admitted that a favourable impression had been created at court by Mustafa's glowing account of the manner in which he had been treated in London and by his testimony to the wealth and greatness of England (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. VI, f. 26)<sup>1</sup>.

One result of the visit of this adventurer was to add a new word to the English language. The discovery that a man of no importance in his own country had been solemnly entertained for some months at great cost in the exalted rank of ambassador doubtless excited no small amount of merriment at the expense of the Levant merchants, and 'to play the *Chāush*' (or, in a shortened form, 'to chouse') seems to have become a popular synonym for imposture. Ben Jonson in *The Alchemist* (1610) thrice uses 'Chiause' in this sense; and his commentator, William Gifford<sup>2</sup>, thus explained the origin of the term, though with many errors in detail. He said that 'in 1609 Sir Robert Shirley sent a messenger or Chiaus (as our old writers call him) to this country as his agent from the Grand Signior and the Sophy to transact some preparatory business,' and that this person decamped after having 'chiaused the Turkish and Persian merchants here of 4,000*l.*' As we have seen, these statements were absurdly wide of the mark; and since no support of them could be discovered, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, in dealing with the word 'chouse,' reserved judgment as to its real origin.

The second visitor was Stefano Janiculo, who termed himself Prince of Moldavia (or Bugdania, as it was sometimes called) and was one of several candidates for the rulership of that restless principality, then, of course, a Turkish dependency. This was not his first appearance in England, for some six years earlier he had presented himself at the court of Elizabeth, for the purpose

<sup>1</sup> Some of the statements in the foregoing account are based upon the *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. XI, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> As Mr Percy Simpson has pointed out to me, Gifford took his note (without acknowledgment) from W. R. Chetwood's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Ben Jonson* (1756), p. 15. Chetwood, however, gave the date as 1610.

of enlisting her sympathy and support in the prosecution of his claims. The Queen gave him (December 1601) letters to her ambassador at Constantinople, bidding him to further Stefano's candidature, so far as he could do so without giving umbrage to the Sultan (*Acts of the Privy Council*, N.S., vol. xxxii, p. 407). Lello accordingly allowed the pretender to take up his quarters at the English embassy, and did what he could to assist him in his applications to the Sultan's ministers. For a time the latter played their usual game of temporizing, and then, when the post Stefano desired fell vacant and his candidature became increasingly embarrassing, they lured him from the ambassador by fair promises and shut him up in a castle on the Asian side of the Hellespont. He contrived to get letters conveyed to the English monarch, who thereupon wrote to the Sultan, urging the release of the prisoner. This intervention produced nothing except promises which were not fulfilled; but in the summer of 1606 Stefano contrived to make his escape, disguised as a woman. He did not, as Lello feared he would, take sanctuary in the English embassy; but the incident caused further friction with the Turkish authorities, and the harassed ambassador wrote that he wished his sovereign would not 'harken to these compterfitt and conicatching fellows that give themselves names of princes' (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. v, f. 66). In January 1607 Stefano was at Venice (*ibid.*, f. 95), whence he proceeded to Walachia, hoping to find military support from the ruler of that province; but the receipt of a demand from Constantinople for his surrender sent him again upon his travels, and he passed by way of Germany into England, presenting himself at James's court in August. There he found a favourable reception, and a grant of 300*l.* was made to him for his expenses (*Cal. S.P., Dom.*, 26 October 1607). One curious incident of his stay in England was that he formed a project of marrying the Lady Arabella Stuart, should he succeed in establishing himself in Moldavia (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. vi, f. 156). Of course nothing came of this scheme; but the fact became so notorious that an allusion to it was in 1610 introduced into a play, which was thereupon suppressed, upon a complaint made by Arabella (*Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. xi, no. 794).

Stefano left England in November 1607 and, travelling overland to Venice, reached Constantinople on 20 May 1608, bringing letters to Glover instructing him to do everything in his power to forward the pretender's interests and authorizing him to spend up to 3000*l.* for that purpose<sup>1</sup>. The ambassador threw himself into the prince's intrigues with more zeal than discretion, despite the warnings of Sanderson and other friends; but the only result was to annoy the Sultan's ministers, who naturally resented his interference in a matter of domestic politics; while he was easily outbribed by another candidate, Constantine, who enjoyed the active support of the King of Poland. For three or four years 'that Bugdan burde' (as Sanderson calls the pretender on p. 271) persisted in his efforts, and then, finding his prospects hopeless, embraced Islam and was rewarded by a government post in Asia Minor (see p. 269*n*)<sup>2</sup>.

In 1607 Sanderson engaged in a controversy which gave full play to his powers of invective. His apprentice, John Hanger, had been bound to him in 1599 for eight years; but he had not rejoined his master when the latter arrived in England in 1602. As a matter of fact the latter had little or no use for his services, and since there had been continual friction between them, he seems to have been well content to be relieved of further responsibility and expense on that account. However, while apparently acquiescing in Hanger's desertion, he still nursed resentment against him; and when in 1607 he discovered that the youth had not only been made free of the Clothworkers' Company but was being proposed for the livery, he threatened to denounce him to the Company and to sue his father for the amount of the bond given at the time of the apprenticeship. He further compiled a fantastic claim for losses incurred in this connexion, amounting to no less than 800*l.*; but he must have been conscious that the claim was grossly exaggerated, for he easily allowed himself to be persuaded to submit it to arbitration. The award was given in October 1607, and as the result the

<sup>1</sup> That sum was duly made over by the English treasury to the Levant Company (*Cal. S.P., Dom.*, 25 September 1608).

<sup>2</sup> Besides the many references to the subject in *S.P., Turkey*, vols. IV-VI, and in *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. XI, see the letter to Hoby already mentioned in the note on p. xxxiii, and Knolles, vol. II, pp. 902, 909.

dispute was settled by the delivery to Sanderson of twelve gallons of sack and a pipe of Malaga (or rather the value of the latter in money, viz. 11*l.*). Details of this amusing wrangle will be found on pp. 24-31.

Sanderson had renewed his friendship with Martin Calthorpe, the son of his old master, and in a letter of 1 February 1608 he spoke of a contemplated visit to him in Norfolk, proceeding thereafter to Lincolnshire and York. It was not, however, until the summer of the following year that the projected excursion to the north was carried out. This holiday journey lasted three months, and Sanderson's enjoyment of the country sports provided for him by his 'kindered and frends' was so great that he seriously thought of quitting smoky, plague-infested London for more rural surroundings (pp. 266, 267); but this idea never came to fruition, and he remained a Londoner to the last.

As we have seen, the letters break off early in 1611, and we have little information about later events in our author's history. In 1615 or 1616 he revised his autobiography, making a few interlineations. He was in a melancholy frame of mind, regarding with apprehension the approach of death and filled with misgivings as he perused the record of his past actions. In penitential fashion he underlined all the passages relating his many sins; and he was specially troubled about that stone shot which he had fired from aboard the *Samaritan* in her fight with a Spanish vessel, and which, for all he knew, had hurried into eternity one or more errant souls and rendered him guilty of homicide. 'God of His mercie forgeve me that voyages whole proceeding' was his sad comment. Nor were other causes for grief wanting; his mother had died in 1612, his brother in 1614, and his sister Grace at some date not recorded. The last-named left only a daughter (Anna), who married Edmund Allen of Ipswich; and this young woman was now her uncle's sole surviving near relative.

Six years after his revision of the autobiography Sanderson appended to it another note, from which we learn that he had copied it, with a continuation, into the now missing companion volume. This makes us regret all the more the disappearance of the latter.

At what time he became acquainted with the Rev. Samuel Purchas, rector of St Martin's, Ludgate, we do not know; but the outcome of their intercourse was the appearance of Sanderson's account of his travels in the reverend gentleman's voluminous *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625). The letter printed on p. 276 shows that at some date subsequent to March 1623 our author sent a second batch of papers, containing the account of his journeyings in Palestine. As already mentioned, a comparison of the text in Purchas with that in our manuscript shows that the former was derived from the missing volume; also that he had added a number of fresh details, which appear in Purchas's text as marginalia and have now been reproduced in our version as foot-notes. From a reference made by Purchas (see p. 127 *n*) we learn the interesting fact that Sanderson also placed at his disposal a number of maps and sketches, together with certain correspondence, but that room could not be found for these. In addition he gave Purchas copies of letters written by Eldred and Newbery from Baghdad and Basra in 1583-84 (see p. 277), which were duly included in the *Pilgrimes*. That Sanderson was greatly pleased by the appearance of his travels in print is suggested by the fact that in his will he left Purchas a sum of money, though, owing to the reverend geographer having predeceased the testator, he never benefited by his friend's kind intentions.

We have now reached the last stage. As already noted, Sanderson's only near relative was his niece, Anna; and a memorandum added to his will suggests that he spent part of his time with her and her husband in their Ipswich home. His will, made in London on 30 June 1624, bequeathed to her a thousand pounds, and appointed her husband, Edmund Allen, one of the three executors (who were also the residuary legatees). With a touch of his old querulousness Sanderson ordained, in a codicil added on 25 August 1626, that Allen should not act as executor unless he gave a bond to behave peaceably and faithfully in the performance of the task. Other details of the will are given on p. 34.

The exact date of Sanderson's death has not been ascertained. The latest record of him at Drapers' Hall is on 1 August 1625,



when he wrote to the Company begging to be excused from serving the office of warden, probably feeling too infirm to undertake that burden. As we have seen, the codicil to his will was signed on 25 August 1626, and we know that the will was proved on 3 March following. The date of death must therefore lie between those dates—probably in January or February 1627. His prayer had been for ‘a chierefull conclusion’ (p. 276), and we trust that this was granted.

Such, in bare outline, was the career of our author. The colour is supplied by his narrative and letters, and especially by his autobiography, which was never intended for publication. Apart from the light thrown upon his own career and upon the history of his times, we catch glimpses of many notable men: of the first five English ambassadors at Constantinople—Harborne, Barton, Lello, Glover, and Pindar: of the adventurous travellers, Eldred, Newbery, Fitch, and Midnall, who were all pioneers of the overland route to India: and of many other of lesser note—Marlow, Best, Sharpie, for example—who became prominent in the early ventures of the East India Company. Further, Sanderson lifts for us a corner of the veil that hangs over the Levant at that period, and shows us the famous cities of Cairo and Alexandria: Constantinople, with its magnificent remains of Western splendour and its veneer of Oriental luxury: Damascus and Aleppo, still important centres of commerce: and Jerusalem, the busy resort of pilgrims from all quarters. We see something also of the Turkish Sultans, of the men who were prominent in their service, and of the foreign ambassadors ceaselessly intriguing in the interests of their employers. Best of all, in his frank pages he reveals his own character and portrays vividly the life of an English merchant adventurer in the Near East in the days of Elizabeth. He is scarcely perhaps an attractive figure; passionate, self-centred, and suspicious, he reaped the natural harvest of such qualities and went through life a very lonely man. Yet he had his good qualities. He was shrewd, observant, courageous, and, as far as we can tell, scrupulously just in his dealings with other men. To ease his conscience he seems to have made a point of recording without reserve his various offences against the moral law; and in return we ought perhaps to remember these with

leniency. In any case our gratitude is due to him for the illuminating picture he gives us of himself and his times.

No portrait of Sanderson has been traced. One is mentioned on p. 33, as having been given by him to his brother, but what became of it does not appear. Judging by the value put upon it, one would infer that it could not have been of much merit; still, any presentment of his features would have been of interest to present-day readers, and we must regret its disappearance.

In preparing the text, abbreviations have been written out, the added letters being in doubtful cases distinguished by being placed within square brackets. In the use of capitals modern usage has been followed, and the same is true of the punctuation. It need hardly be said that the dates throughout are in Old Style, though for the reader's convenience the period 1 January–24 March, has been reckoned in the editorial contributions as part of the same year as 25 March–31 December, albeit in the manuscript the old convention is observed of commencing each year on Lady Day. Except in the headings, personal and place names are given throughout as Sanderson or his correspondents spell them.

In annotating the work I have had much assistance from Mr Gerald Clauson, O.B.E., who kindly translated for me many of the Turkish words and phrases that occur in the text; while further useful aid in this direction was rendered by Sir Denison Ross and Mr A. G. Ellis. In other difficulties I had recourse to Dr L. D. Barnett, of the British Museum, and to Professor Büchler, of the Jews' College, and my grateful thanks are due to them for their valuable assistance. My indebtedness to the officials at Drapers' Hall has already been recorded in this introduction; while some other helpers are mentioned in the footnotes to the text.



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## THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY (*f.* 237 *b*)

### A RECORD OF THE BIRTHE AND FORTUNES OF JOHN SANDERSON, ALIAS BEDIC<sup>1</sup>

After my mother (as she saith) had travailed iij dayes in great hassard of hir life, uppon Sonday was praied for at Paules Crosse in the begining of the sermon; after which, in the time the psalme was singing, she was delivered, at the hower of xi, beinge Passion Sonday, then the last day of March, 1560, just 14 dayes before Easter Day. Now the Lady Staffard, hearinge of the troblesome travaile, came and minestered a drinke, and imediately received me frome my mother. Then was I weake, and presently baptised by the name of John; which the next Sonday after being solemnised my day of baptisme, the name remained John. My godfathers weare my coson, Master Richard Whethill<sup>2</sup>, gent. and Staple merchaunt, Master William Franlin, gent. and Danscique merchaunt; the good Lady Woodrufe my god-mother.

My infancie, by my mothers report, was very tediousse and sickely, full of biles [*i.e.* boils], as seven at one time. Growing to more years, I was trobled with a flatt white kind of wourmes in my bodie. Long time together for the same I toke many medisins; emongest other[s] one oyntment with which I anoynted my belie all over, by a womans direction, and laid as much as a waulnutt to my navell every day; but all brought the skinne cleane frome my bellie, which as yet I cannott but freshlie remember the exceeding paine; but of them I was not cleare before the 24th yeare of my adge; after I did drinke no other but wine and water.

<sup>1</sup> In a pedigree of the Sandersons of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, printed at p. 474 of Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677), the original ancestor of the family is given as 'Alexander de Bedick, in parochia de Washinton in Episc. de Duresme, 1333.'

<sup>2</sup> On *f.* 344 *b* of the MS. Sanderson notes that Whethill's daughter Margaret married first Sir Thomas Mildmay and then, after his death, 'the Knight Lacon' (presumably Sir Francis Lacon).

Nowe the misirye I had at grammer scole was very great, by reason of my unaptnes. Before 16 yeares I gave over all Lattin, havinge bine meanelly instructed of madd freescole maisters, Cooke and Houlden<sup>1</sup>. The said Coke with lashes sett more then seven scarres one my thye, which yet remaine. So to siferinge and writtinge, wheare in half a yeare I profitied as much as was neadfull, of Master Scottow and Master Gray<sup>2</sup>. Then spent I half a year together at home in kepeinge accompt and cuttinge out wourke for my fathers servants, himselfe beinge most marteriously greeved with a wenn, that begane to growe (as my mother saith) after he was married, under his right eare; which in 14 years time was mutch increased, and nowe had bine of late years in surgions hand. A woman cauled Mistress Humfry first perswaided and begane with it; but the best surgions had it in hand for many years after; of which all who any waye belonged to him had much sorowe in thier harts to see his paine; and [he] was continually becorriveed [i.e. worried], and so weake that he could not oversee his servants or keepe accompt of the velvett, taffatie, silke, sarcnett, etc. that went to the hatts and caps linings; his servants beinge ever three or four aprentisies, two maid servants at least, and never fewer then seven or eight at wourke. Yet he died in meane estate, thoughe not poore; for since his bad chapmen ruined his occupieng [i.e. trading] he, havinge discharged his owne debts to the uttermost peny, and some of other mens, had enoughe to doe to defraye the charge he had. Yet also he renewed the lease of his house four years before his death. Master Knightlie, a good surgion, healed his wenn; yet was he so weakned that sone after he died, beinge that yeare churchwarden; and lieth buried in St. Fayths under Poules<sup>3</sup>, not farr frome Master Lambe, but within the partision goinge up unto the preaching place; I meane near the goinge up to hear the Crosse sermons<sup>4</sup>.

At 17 years my uncle Foxall, a marchaunt, placed me with

<sup>1</sup> The school was St Paul's, of which John Cook was High Master, 1559-73, and Christopher Holden Surmaster, 1561-78.

<sup>2</sup> These were evidently private schoolmasters, who coached in subjects not taught in grammar schools.

<sup>3</sup> See later (p. 21).

<sup>4</sup> The sermons delivered at St Paul's Cross, outside the Cathedral.

Master Martin Calthorp<sup>1</sup>, Flaunders merchaunt, who kept me a yeare before I was bound, and then bound I was, with my fathers consent, for ix years, of which I served him soly [i.e. solely] vij years, the two first in meane aprentish manner, and allso woure a blewe coate<sup>2</sup> many tims when I waited one him in the contry. Then after I was steweard in his shrivaltie; after which he yet urdged me onste more to attend him into Northfolke in his livery coate; wheare I, with greeving, got a quarterne ague which helde me most intolarably the space of six monthes. Then he made me cashier, and he urged me to be markt man for a time. But at the last, havinge of my aprentiseshipp to serve two years and had had no preferment, he nowe apoynts me a voyadge into Turki, binds me to the Company for iiij years (two of them was more then I ought [i.e. owed] him), also without my first knoweledge, and so most unorderedly sent me over to be at the dispose of Master Harborne, then ambassiator.

Out of Sir George Carowes<sup>3</sup> seller at the Ile of Wight I was merry drunke emongest the rest of gentillmen passingers. At the Moria the shipp came aground and put us all in extraordinary feare. Wilkinson, [the] master, put fault to John Durant, pilot; he laid it (wheare indeed it was) in Peter Rushe, the maisters mate, who slept us fast aground.

To Constantinople when I came, the ambassiator mad me maister of his howse, clothinge me with some aparrell that had bine Master Massams the aldermans<sup>4</sup> sonn, above the degree of a merchaunt. So to my much greefe I remained in that sort six monethes; was daingerously sicke at one time, but sone recovered. Then he sent me to Alexandria and Cairo, with good intent. But Rovet [Revett?], consull of Petras (who afterward hanged himselfe in England), beinge apoynted to come with the William and John, a shipp to that port, went to Tripole [in] Sirria,

<sup>1</sup> Martin Calthorpe, afterwards alderman, sheriff (1579-80) and lord mayor (1588-89); three times Master of the Drapers' Company; knighted in 1589. (Beaven, vol. II, p. 40.)

<sup>2</sup> The usual garb of an apprentice.

<sup>3</sup> Sir George Carew (or Carey), Captain-General of the Isle of Wight (from 1582). He afterwards (1596) succeeded his father as Baron Hunsdon.

<sup>4</sup> William Masham, grocer, was an alderman from 1582 to 1594, and sheriff in 1583-84. He died towards the end of 1600. (Beaven, vol. II, p. 41.)



contrary to order; so that in the time of my ther beinge was little to doe, onely by some goods sent us overland frome Trip[oli] and Alepo I was kept frome idlenes, havinge no means to gett, but wayes perforce to spend.

In my voyadge frome Constantinople, I lienge ashore at Sio, the Beg of Alexandria with his gallie sett saile before morning and departed; so that in another gallie I went thence to Roads, wher I overtoke him in an eveninge. In the morninge a slave that belonged to the Captaine of Roads came abourd and offered to shewe me the citie. He was a surgion (who commonlie have all libertie, thoughe they be slaves). So I invited him to eate abourd the gallie with me; which done, he cauled frome the shore a little boate, a blackemore scullor, who came to the prow of the gallie. I staped in first and toke the surgion by the hand, who held me fast and sett his foote one the boate side, turned the botome upwards, puld me in with him. The blackmore swome to land. The Turks of the gallie at my risinge threwe forth owers [i.e. oars]; some toke hould of my clothes, and so by great good happ I was saved. And he that puld me in lost not his hould (which was one my garment; with the faule I cannott tell howe), but was likewise taken up with me. I shifted, and went ashore; and from thence in that gallie to Alexandria in Egipte.

The temptations to evell ar great in that place, all abhominable, most detestable. The Lord of His infinite mercie eyed, prevented, preserved, and ledd me frome that damnable crue of all sorts. The time of my aboad, beinge xviii monethes, I had no waunt of health, though the contry is tedious in respect of heate, dust, and flies. I suffered shippwrecke at Rossetto; lost all provition of wood, wine, and houshold stufe; also five persons drowned; others saved by swiming one ould chests and peces of the shipp, myselfe and three more most miracolously in the boate, for which I ever geve thanks to God Almightye. As also for His great preservation of me frome the pestilence which was ther begonne; two hundred in a day at Cairo, but many died at Alexandria and at Rossetto. I mett, goinge to buriinge and one the beers at thier dores, and in thier yards dead corps awashinge, every morning in every street at least seven or eight. Yet had I no feare at all, nor failed to frayght a barke to carie me and the

Companies goods for Tripolie [in] Sirria; whear beinge safely and in perfect health arived, after a while I fell greivously sicke. One eveninge, ridinge with a janesarie<sup>1</sup> to the waterside, sittinge uppon my asse, in the midst of a plaine fields, I felte a paulpable blowe one the left shoulder, which staid me one my asse. The janetary ridinge before me looked backe, but nether I nor he sawe any thinge. When I came backe in my chamber some hower after, standing at a table, sowing a little Gould in my doblett (for the next day I should have gone for Alepo, my horse hire paid for and apparrell sent), I soncke downe uppon a lute, that stode at the corner of my bourd [i.e. table], and broke it all in peces. At last, a littell recoveringe, I crept to the dore and cauled for aquavita; which was brought, and I threwe myselve thawart the bed. Then [I] fell into a Jewe doctors hands, a phesition, who purged and drewe so much blodd frome me that I was not wholie recovered of that sicknes in many monthes after. Yet I put myselve into the shipp Hercules, full weake, and ther had the yealow janders, after that I had bine so weake (and recovered againe) that I was not able to stand or goe, but every time I was lifted to a cheaire, whilst Jo[h]n Bond and William Tett (who weare my good attendants) made my bed, I sounded [i.e. swooned] awaye, and beinge laid in bed againe I recovered: a strainge and most greivouse sicknes. I lived four monethes at least by barly water boyled thicke and thickened with suger; also stued prunes and dried apricoks put in water, and the water of them I dranke, which did refreshe and kepe me alive. Then I fell to a little chickin broth, and so to tast the chicke etc. That Tripoli ayre at that time had infected 40 or 50 Englishmen at least. Onely the maisters mate and four others died. The coffin was made and sett out for me, but God prevented that busines (His name be ever praised).

*A good  
angell, I  
make no  
doubt.*

Nowe goinge for Ingland in the Hercules we were almost imbaide some fewe leagues frome Tripolie, and escaped a very great danger; also an extreame storme, fowle wether, and contrary winds induringe almost three monthes together, within the Streights [of Gibraltar]. We fasted and praied, and wowed [i.e. vowed] to redeeme a captive when God should send us to Argier

<sup>1</sup> A Turkish soldier (*yeni-tsheri*).

[Algiers]; wether we came at last in savetie and performde the wow. My part was 20s. towards that matter, which I paid to John Eldred<sup>1</sup> and Anthony Bate. Nowe comming throughe the Streights we were discried and shott at frome Suta [Ceuta], but miste, and came savely into Ingland with that shipp's ladinge for accompte of the Turkie Company. Alderman Hart<sup>2</sup> and Alderman Spencer<sup>3</sup> offered for the same 70,000*li.* at an adventure; but suer the goods came to much more when they made the de-  
vision.

*Martin  
Calthorp,  
alderman.*

My maister had 5,000*li.* wourth for his part. He imbraced and bad me welcome; but after a fewe dayes, when I was importunat to have him see me satisfied of the Turkie Company, one morning he answered me thaurtingli [i.e. thwartingly], saing: 'Shall I be thy bedle, to warne the Company?' etc. But I, more furiose, swore by God, and tould him that he would breake all mens harts that had to doe with him. I greved and wept to be regarded with such unkindnes, departed in a fury and to my chamber. My mistress<sup>4</sup> came and perswaided me to patience, repeting his nature, and wept. And next then came a felowe and foolish seeminge frend, T. W[ebb ?], who also perswaided; but to him I said my maister was ungratfull, and wished in wourds that the shipp, his adventure, and myselfe had all sonke in the sea; a wicked wish (God forgeve me); but Webb revield the wourds, and was coumpted never the honester man—nay, in my maister his reput a foolish asse and k[nave ?].

Nowe after my beinge at home my maister still wished me well,

<sup>1</sup> Eldred was a well-known Levant trader and traveller, and is especially remembered for his participation in Fitch's journey eastwards. In later life he was a prominent citizen of London (master of the Clothworkers' Company and alderman) and for many years was on the governing body of the East India Company. He died at the close of 1632. (Beaven, vol. II, p. 49.)

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Hart was an alderman from 1580, sheriff in 1579-80, and lord mayor ten years later; also M.P. for London, 1592-93 and 1597-98. He was prominent both in the Levant Company and in the East India Company. The latter body elected him as Governor in July, 1602, but he declined the post on the score of age and ill-health. He died early in 1604.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Spencer was a clothworker and one of the richest men in London. He was an alderman from 1583 to his death in March 1610, and was knighted in 1595. He was one of the leading members of the Levant Company.

<sup>4</sup> Lady Calthorpe was originally Joanna Heath. She married (1) William Freeston, (2) Martin Calthorpe, (3) William Boys. (*Visitation of Kent*, 1619, p. 163.)

but did me no good; for thoughe it was his fault and his due to pay (for waunt of timely advise into Flanders) a broke of 20 angells<sup>1</sup>, and also should have paid all chargis my fredome importinge, yet did he nether the one nor the other, but bad me goe over of my owne charge, yf I would be free. And so I did, together with Thomas Calthorp. We weare a just weeke in that voyage, frome London to Midleborowe [i.e. Middelburg] and London againe. Our Deputie, Master Egerton, Master Whitebred our preacher, Thomas Calthorp, myselfe, and another marchant had our passage frome Gravesend in the shipp with the Lady Drury and hir two daughters (whome she cauled hir nightingales) and six great horses to be convaide to Sir William hir husband, being then Governour of Bargaen up Zoan<sup>2</sup>. Thomas Calthorp fewe days after our retorne deceased. His sicknes was a surfitt (as I take it) of lobsters, together with the love of Mary M. [Mounsie *in margin*].

Nowe after my maister his decease, by meane[s] of his sonn<sup>3</sup> Peyton I gott of the Turkie Company the valewe of 25*li.* for my service to them. I alowed myselfe for service done to my maister and mony (as apeareth) I had paid for a broke, with my chargis before I had my freedome in Flaunders, which was my maisters due to paie; I say, I put to accompt 20*li.*, and 10*li.* I toke of a bucher (Greene by name) to kill fleshe in Lent, and 40*s.* of Merideth the fishmonger. This is all I profited by my maister, together with a mourning cloake. Yet at his funerall I woure a gowne and a whod [i.e. hood] which I borrowed of Master Bowels,

<sup>1</sup> If the freedom were not taken up within a year of the expiration of the apprenticeship, a fine ('broke') of ten pounds (twenty 'angels') was levied; see an article on 'The Internal Organisation of the Merchants Adventurers,' by W. E. Lingelbach, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N.S., vol. xvi, p. 19. Since the delay was due to Calthorpe's action in turning over his apprentice to the Turkey Company for a period exceeding that legally owing to him, Sanderson was justified in expecting that his master would pay the fine.

<sup>2</sup> English troops were aiding the Dutch in defending Bergen op Zoom against the Spaniards. Sir Thomas Morgan was the actual Governor at this period, but he had taken part of the garrison to England to assist against the Armada, and it is possible that Drury had replaced him temporarily (see *Acts of the Privy Council*, N.S., vol. xvi, pp. xvii-xix, and (for Drury) vol. xix, p. 183, *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1581-90, p. 260, *Addenda*, 1580-1625, p. 286).

<sup>3</sup> Son-in-law. Anna, Sir Martin's daughter, married Sir Thomas Peyton, of Knowlton, Kent. (*Visitation of Kent*, 1619, p. 66.)

the Earle of Kents<sup>1</sup> controweler. That day I caried his standard, so apoynted by the herrolds the night before. His sonn Martin, I, and Master Judson<sup>2</sup> the parson buried him in the quier at St Peters the Poore<sup>3</sup>. An extreme hastie natured man was nowe quiet enoughe.

My maister thus being dead in his maioraltye, I was by My Lady intreated to stay a time and goe with hir into Northfolke; which I did, and so I lefte Hir Ladishipp. In that time she was jelious [i.e. suspicious] that I loved hir sisters [i.e. sister-in-law's] daughter, who waited one hir. And so I did, but shewed it not; yet, had I had a suffitient estate to maineteyne a wife, the love of Mistress Margerett Calthorp to me should have had due regard and reward.

Nowe intended I a voyage unto the East India. Victuled out the Samaritan of Dartmouth, at Dartmouth; Ed. Rive, master; Jo[hn] Davis, captane; J. Sanderson, E. Rivers, R. Cotton<sup>4</sup>, J. Arendall, etc., victulers; T. Percie, T. More, R. Mortimore, W. Hart, etc., volentary gent[lemen] who served for thier shares; in all, 105 men and boyes, victuled for 13 monethes. But what with an extraordinary extreame storme and stoute fight, we had a forced retorne; escaped sondry and mervailous daingers; pumpt many dayes together above 400 strokes in a glasse<sup>5</sup>; lost in fight onely one poore man, who with a great round stone shott out of a cannon was hatt [i.e. hit] one the lege, the shott resting in the shipp. By John Jane<sup>6</sup>, a bad surgion's handling he died

<sup>1</sup> Henry Grey, ninth Baron Grey de Ruthyn and sixth Earl of Kent.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Judson, M.A. (Oxon.), was rector of St John, Watling Street, 1580-86; rector of St Peter-le-Poor, 1583-1615; and also of St Peter Cheap, 1585-1615. He died in 1615.

<sup>3</sup> The church of St Peter-le-Poor stood on the north side of Old Broad Street. It escaped the Great Fire, but was taken down and rebuilt in 1788-92 further back from the roadway. Within living memory it was pulled down and the site covered with offices. On f. 387 *b* Sanderson records that Calthorpe died on Saturday, 3 May, 1589, and was buried under the communion table at St Peter's.

<sup>4</sup> He seems to have been the Randolph Cotton who afterwards commanded the *Dainty* in Candish's second voyage to the South Seas, and was a great friend of Davis.

<sup>5</sup> The time taken by the halfehour glass to run out.

<sup>6</sup> This would seem to be Davis's faithful companion and the chronicler of his voyages, though he is always described elsewhere as a merchant or supercargo. Possibly he had undertaken the duty in the absence of a regular surgeon; or again, as the name has evidently been inserted at a later date, Sanderson's memory may have been at fault.

the next day, and had his body throwne overboard after his legge. Before my goinge out one this voyadge, waulkinge under a rocke nere the Compas<sup>1</sup> at Dartmouth, I found an iron shott, which I toke up, kept it, a[nd] caried it abourd the shipp *Samaritan*. I gave fier to a demiculvaringe. God of His mercie forgeve me that voyages whole proceeding.

After five monethes we arived, shipp and peper<sup>2</sup>, safe in Dartmouth, lost and defrauded of all by Captain Davis, who since was murdered by thos of Japan<sup>3</sup>. [I] borrowed to beare my charge ther and bringe me home. Ed. Rivers and myselfe in the snowe went in our bouts from Dartmoth to Exiter (as I remember). Ther hierd I a horse for 20s. and came with the cariers (allso Master Rivers in my comp[any], with both our bootes full of water) and landed at London; whear, after some repose, I went in the Toby a prosperouse and pleasant voyadge towards Constantinople the second time.

Three moneths we were one the waye to Petras [Patras]; wheare, with aqua vita (which they caule rachie [Turkish *raki*]) I emongest the rest became drunke, and so sicke that, had not Anthony Marlo put his finger into my throate and caused me to cast, I had died that night most assueredly. At that instant drunke exceedingly R. Gould, W. Aldrich, J. Monns<sup>4</sup>, J. Chester, J. Powell, master, W. Ceaser, purser and part honore [i.e. owner],

<sup>1</sup> Mr Gilbert Jones, Town Clerk of Dartmouth, has informed me that 'Compass Point is a well-known landmark close to the mouth of Dartmouth harbour, and Compass Cove adjoining is equally well known. Dartmouth played an important part in bygone naval wars, and to this day old iron shots and cannon balls are frequently found.'

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a slip for 'people.'

<sup>3</sup> This is one of the later additions to the narrative, and establishes the identity of the captain of the *Samaritan* with the celebrated navigator and explorer, John Davis of Sandridge (which is near Dartmouth). He took part in Sir Edward Michelborne's voyage to the East Indies, and was slain in December 1605, in a fight with some Japanese pirates.

No importance need be attached to Sanderson's charge that Davis defrauded the promoters of the voyage. It was our author's practice to fling about accusations of this description when he was disappointed.

<sup>4</sup> John Monns, Muns, or Mun (all three forms occur in the MS.), was the eldest brother of Thomas Mun, the author of *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*. Their mother, left a widow in 1573, married in the following year Thomas Cordell, so often mentioned in these pages. He put both boys into the Levant trade, in which he was himself engaged. John, who was born in 1564, was, we know from Sanderson, trading at Aleppo in 1596. He died unmarried in 1615.

Wm. Walton, and J. Brewer, etc. Overland merely Gould, Aldrich and I went with our goods and servants about the Arcadian hills and bankes of Helicon, Lepanto Gulfe, and that famous Corinth<sup>1</sup>, wheare we weare forced to stay two or three dayes to make agreement for drunken misrule, Gould havinge bine slashed at, but the Turke, Jeffer Chouse<sup>2</sup>, and Wm. Aldridge sorely wounded. Myselfe goinge before with the goods left them at Vasilico<sup>3</sup> to come after. So to Nigroponto, whear we imbarked for Galipolie and Constantinople.

Master Barton, the Agent, received me willingly, but I sawe a great alteration; frome servinge God devoutly and drinkinge puer water, nowe to badnes stoutly and much wine (the witts hater). Ther to live I perceaved great temtation; so rather I resolved to live awhile at Pera with drunken Daukins the marchant, an ould woman, Simon Broadstret, and Robert Course. But by Si[gnor] Paulo [Mariani] and Wilcoks, his secretaries, he still intreated me to be at his house; so uppon the shipp Ascentions arivall with the present I fulfilld his desier. But by abuse of Wm. Aldrich, after the shippes comminge, the ambassiator vexed me to the very soule. For first I had controwled a paile<sup>4</sup> which he had built for convayance of whores; which I termed Dianas Gallarye, for so was Tiptons whore cauled and was bawde to the ambassiator for the Sultana of Fesse<sup>5</sup>. Then againe, I gave Aldrich three or four cuffes in the ambasiators presents and chamber, Aldrich flieing thether for sanctuary after he had stealingly stroke me in my owne chamber; but his great Lordshipp laid his fists one my face for so doinge, and confined me to my chamber. But Aldrich still dispihted me most greivously, as sainge I outlooked him [i.e. stared him down], and refused the table yf I were ther. To fulfill his mind, I was warned to

<sup>1</sup> This was Old Corinth, the ruins of which lie over three miles from the present city.

<sup>2</sup> Ja'far the chiaus (Turkish *chāush*, a messenger, lictor, etc.). European travellers generally took one of these with them as a protection against exactions.

<sup>3</sup> Vasiliko, about 18 miles west of present-day Corinth.

<sup>4</sup> Pale, or enclosed place. 'Conveyance' implies the surreptitious passing to and fro of the women mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> The exiled royal line of Fez appears to have taken refuge at Constantinople (see *Early Voyages*, p. 58).

refraigne<sup>1</sup>. He also hindred much the ambassiators equall liberalitie to me; for to Bushell, Rivers, Wrage, and others he gave doble sattin shutes, ash-colour and white; to me he sent one sute of crimsin. I retourned it him againe by Thomas Glover<sup>2</sup>, the bringer; for which we were out for a space. Yet, the day he delivered the present, at his home comming he sent me, by the hands of Thomas Glover, a redd velvett gounne which the Gran[d] Sig[no]r had vested him with before he kiste his hand; and afterward allowed me eight braces [i.e. ells: Ital. *braccio*] of redd velvitt for a shute, to make me amends for laing his hand uppon me. So that, thoughe in my very soule I was at that time greved, we weare againe made frends.

Sone after an axedent happened; that the steward of the house had abused me in wourds, as I was informed by Ed. Bushell, that vild makebate [i.e. mischief maker]; and I had a former spleene against him for his foolishhenes. Nowe I intended to have geven him the bastinnado (?), to which effect I had laid a cudgell under my beds head, but (howe I knowe not) the same was taken awaye. And I had wowed to strick before I did eat or drinke (a wicked wow: God forgeve me). So I toke a pockett dagge [i.e. pistol] that was next hand and stroke at the felowe. With the second or third blowe the barrell (which was of brasse) fell of, and so I was prevented the performance of my fury. Yf the dagg had not broke, I had (I thinke) harmed him to death; God of His mercie forgeve me. But sore was he brused one the head, wounded in the necke, and his eare torne in the midst; but that was presently sewed up by Peter Scot, and his head and

<sup>1</sup> At f. 359 *b* will be found a stern letter from Barton to Sanderson, written a day after this incident. In it the ambassador expresses surprise that Sanderson, instead of trying to make amends for his offence, has not only threatened Aldrich but has gone so far as to 'dispise me, as having knowne me in povertie and to have in tims past sought your favour not to take the office of secretary in Master Harbons time frome me.' These allegations Barton denies, and as a punishment orders Sanderson to 'refraime my table' until the next ship arrives from England, when 'ether you may otherwise resolve for your owne estate or I will take other order for you.' Sanderson appends a note that this communication was sent, 'frome His Lordships chamber to mine, which was some six paces.'

<sup>2</sup> The future ambassador, who at this time was acting as Barton's secretary. He was the son of Thomas Glover, and cousin of Alderman Sir William Glover (*Notes and Queries*, third series, vol. 1, p. 182).



necke healed by John Field, the surgion. That night I was greatly perplexed, for P. Franke and others agravated the matter, and the ambassiator was hevely agreeved. But in the morning I agreed to pay for his healinge, beinge comforted concerninge the dainger. I gave Field, the surgion, some aspers and a bundle of coniskins. Many other agreevances and discontents passed whilst I was ther, in comp[any] of Bushell, Aldrich, Mons, Wragg, Rivers<sup>1</sup>, Babington, who envied me so much (for discrienge [i.e. decrying] him) that he stabd my russett sattin dobllett with a poniard, not daringe to tutch my person (Babington, I meane). Tipton, the consull of Argier, a wicked athiesticall knave, who attempted to perswaid me frome sobrietie, sainge it was melencolie and that God would we should be merry; and praid that he might be kept out of the hands of men, for God regarded not our accions. One most wicked [action] I doubt was performed by him; for, waulkinge with him in his chamber, I went to his coberd (as I was wount) to taste of his wine which he had ther (commonly of the best); but settinge a glassefull towards my mouth, he in all hast toke it out of my hand, [saying] 'I was not the partie.' Yet I doubt another dranke it (yf (?) alive, Jones by name<sup>2</sup>). So much by the waye. But I in effect tould him that an example would be seene of his owne death; and so [it] was, for he by a wicked man, a Greke, one of his mariners, had his throte cutt, sittinge at super; Higdie<sup>3</sup>, his man, who waited one his trencher, wounded and lept into the sea; three Turks (passingers) and a boy slaine by the said Greeks, mariners; his whore Diana saved. This was thaurt the enterance of the Gulfe of Venis. His barke Diana and his w[hore] Diana was after a fewe dayes taken by a Provedadore [Ital. *provveditore*, a governor], who pitied hir case. She accused the Greeks. Three were hanged at Catara [Cattaro]; others (accessary) had formerly in the boate escaped. So much of Tipton and his death; who wept very sobingly when he toke me, others, and Francis Dorrington by the hands att his departure from Constantinople. The plague

*A good  
escape of  
poysening.*

<sup>1</sup> In the margin the first two are stigmatized as 'filthy fellowes,' the third as 'Puritan,' the fourth as 'knave.' Rivers, however, is allowed to have been 'honest.'

<sup>2</sup> This parenthesis was added later.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the John Hickday of a later page.

of pestelence was also in the ambassadors house. Sixteen had it in a short time; eight died, one of which (Starkie by name) sickned in my chamber in the night time [and] died two or three dayes after. Nowe for Signor Paulo Mariani, as very an athiest as Tipton, a chefe counselour to the ambassiatour<sup>1</sup>. He, after many broyles and Machievile turmoyles, went consull of Fraunce to Alexandria and Cairo in Egipt. Ther beinge settled in his chefest desiered pompe, [he] sent to the French ambassiator in Constantinople 3,000 crounes, which he had promised to send me for our ambasiator, I beinge the ambassitors deputie in Constantinople. With the said crouns the French wrought means for com[mandment] frome the Vizier and Cadie [*Qadi*, a judge] to hange up Signor Paulo; which was effected, and he hanged by the necke in his redd velvett gounne under the chiefeste gate of Cairo; beinge privatly by force fetched out of his house in the eveninge, for otherwise his death had bine prevented, he had so besotted and was so beloved of most in the citie<sup>2</sup>. Paulo his witt was a maker of patriarks and princes, a setter up and pullar downe of them and ambassiators, a poysoner and filthy liver, a warrs and peace maker, a garboyler<sup>3</sup>. John Ties, no trewe believer. Jacomo Helman, a trewe deceaver. Poore Mounsure d'Planca<sup>4</sup> died in a morning, of poyson. Jones was ript by J. Field and buried with much scorning. B., M., A.<sup>5</sup>, and others plied thier whores so, that at one time was rumord to be in the house seventeen; but the ambassiator caused all to depart except his owne, with whome and alcamis [i.e. alchemy] he waisted his allowance. But what availed my counsell? Prid and selfewill was to[o] rife in all. Yet so it fell out that, for all disdaine, the ambassiator at last was behoulding to me, for I furnished him with 5,000 crouns at his departur for the warrs, and was his

1596, frome  
the 2d of  
June to  
December.

<sup>1</sup> Mariani's influence with Barton is noted by the Venetian envoy (*Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. ix, no. 276).

<sup>2</sup> See *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. ix, no. 524. The charge was that he had furnished the Spaniards with information, and the date was towards the close of 1596.

<sup>3</sup> A maker of garboils (i.e. tumults).

<sup>4</sup> On f. 403 b is given an undated letter in Italian from 'De La Plancia.' Sanderson adds a note that 'this poor mounsure, as I suspect, was poysoned by Paulo Mariani, a Matchivilian Italian.'

<sup>5</sup> Identified in the margin as 'Bushell, Monns, and Aldrich.'

I mett him decently, as befitted. The ambassiator of France furnished me with some horssees.

Nowe William Aldrich still enviinge my prosperitie and crossed me as formerly with his brother Jonas, who kept a foule swaggeringe alwayes with me, our conditions and qualities beinge contrary. The particulers ar many of my disquietnes with him; but one for all shall stand for noate. When Master Barton was departed for the warrs, my frend Jonas flaunted with me according to his wounted manner; but havinge warned him, and seing the course I begane to take for my quiett, which was to have tamed him by janesaries, yf any could at that time have bine had for mony; perceavinge which, I say, he went to John Field and tould him that his purpose was to prepare a barke armado [i.e. armed] redye in Tapana<sup>1</sup>, and so to come in shewe to take his leave, and then to stabbe me to death, and presently flie to the said barke. This J. Field tould me after he was gone, and warned him to be better advised, for the least drope of my blode at that time would cost him his life. But Jonas and I were frends at our next meetinge, which was, as I remember, some ten moneths after. So nowe with John Field, whome he would needs have youked with me in Master Cordels<sup>2</sup> busines. I utterly refused, and so determined homewards; which I revealed to the ambassiator, but he, offering all kindnes, perswaided the contrary, couseled [i.e. embraced] me, and wepte. But I was resolute; bought my horssees, and spread my newe pavilion in the garden. The same by chaunce (but none knowes howe) was sett one fier, and my best horse dead in the ambassiators stable; but Master Lillo, I thinke, was the death of him, runinge three races the day before (unknowne to me till I was half waie at Alepo). I bought another horse in Constantinople, and the ambassiator presented me with an ould pavilion which he had had at the campe, which served my turne.

And so I departed. Came to Alepo, in health but much

<sup>1</sup> *Top-khāna*, the artillery yard at Constantinople. See Mundy, vol. I, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Cordell, mercer, was for a few months the alderman of Bridge Ward Without. He was Master of the Mercers' Company in 1605 and 1612, and died in April of the latter year (Beaven, vol. II, p. 45). He was a prominent member of the Levant Company and was nominated as an Assistant in both the 1600 and 1605 charters.

wearied by mony I caried aboute me; and by the way lefte a tierd horse in the plaine fields. My other horses all wearied; three of which I made a little mony of. The fourth, beinge a Babilonian [an Arab ?] for my owne saddle, was never the wourse in all that travaile: an exelent daple grai, very sadd [i.e. dark-coloured], of a meane stature; rather to[o] little for me, but the best, I am of opinion, that ever I shalbe master of. He would walke by me, licking my hand; stand still when I backed [mounted] him; and kneele at my pleasure. I presented him to Ed. Abbott, who one him outranne the most famouse beast in Alepo, cauled Berthrams mare; but Abbott, beinge cosoned of 16 kersies by two Italian striplinges (who claved<sup>1</sup> him with magnificentia<sup>2</sup>), sent after them throughe the fenns to Antiochia with a hevie janesary one the horse[s] backe, who spoyled him; and yet Abbott sould him to E. Rose<sup>3</sup> of Scandaron at 50 dollars. He cost me in Stambole 24 d[uca]ts gould; his furniture as much more.

Nowe I remaninge at Alepo (wher the consull, Coulthurst, nor any could perswaid me to take phisique, according to the cos-tome, to prevent sicknes), having come to[o] late to the English shipp, I heard that the ambassiator was sicke of a flix [i.e. dysentery]. Myselfe two or three dayes after fell into a tenas-mose<sup>4</sup>. The Venis consuls doctor said the cause was evell aire and change of waters, with the Turks spongie sower bread and rawe frutes. But I ether toke it in a cupp of rosasolas<sup>5</sup> the night before I departed frome the ambassiator<sup>6</sup>, or else it was 400 d[uca]ts gould which I caried quilted in my purple velvett dob-lett, that all the way in ridinge beat uppon the raines of my backe. Be it howsoever, both strange, very painefull, and daingierouse the deseace was to me. Yet, I thanke God, in three monthes I was

Another  
escape.

<sup>1</sup> Probably 'clawed,' i.e. flattered.

<sup>2</sup> Praise.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Rose was dead by Sept. 1600, when the Levant Company wrote to Colthurst at Aleppo concerning his estate (*Dawn of British Trade*, p. 278).

<sup>4</sup> Irritation of the bowels (Ital. *tenasmóne*).

<sup>5</sup> A cordial flavoured with sundew (*rosa solis*).

<sup>6</sup> At this point Sanderson afterwards inserted in the margin: 'Havinge pledgd the ambassiator in his chamber in a cupp of rosasolas, he beinge in his bedd, I at the bedsid, in company with Anthony Marlo (when the ambassiator willed that Master Lillo should stay without). I tooke that night my leave of him. But in my owne chamber, before I slept, I dranke at least (for good respect) a bottell all out of rosasolas, of a pint (I say) at least, to prevent the wourst.'

well recovered, and went to Siprus in the Navi Ragazona, John Douglas pilot, myselfe, G. Dorry[ng]ton, Alex. Harris, and Antony Marlo passingers.

At Siprus we were two or three months, whilst the shipp laded salt at Larnica<sup>1</sup>. Then to Venis prosperously; frome whence Douglas and Marlo and Elkin Roules etc. departed in my company for Inghland overland by the waye of Jarmani; whear drunken Douglas and his mates caused doble expence in slope [i.e. slop] drinke, I refusinge often to drinke, thoughe never to pay. In a d[runken?] humour Douglas brought his mates to my bedside, I beinge asleepe, [and] powered into my bed a stope of wine; but then I radged, and tould him that one day he would have his belyfull of drinke. So since he hath, for he soncke in the sea, with som 60 Inghlishmen, in a shipp<sup>2</sup> wherof he was master (a Greeke pilate), besides Turks and Jewes, passingers frome Salanico to Sio, thought to be in nomber above 100 more at least. A great judgment of God. The like of the Toby I heare remember; for going in her to Patras, Wm. Caesar purser and part honore [i.e. owner], when I asked him why he adventured himselfe so often at sea in so da[n]gerouse times, havinge means to send and not go in person, his answeare was that he feared no drowninge, for it was not like[ly ?] that 50 or 60 in a shipp together weare borne all for one death at one time. Yet he suffered wrecke in that very shipp the second viadge after [and] was nevermore seene, thoughe five of fifty, [it] is said, were saved. She was cast away<sup>3</sup> under Ape Hill, one the Barbary shore<sup>4</sup>; the Steven at the Goletta<sup>5</sup>; the Marchant Royall, with 60 men, soncke downe in Malamoco<sup>6</sup> at Venis. And divers other like accidents I have in my lifetime noted; as T. Jaxin often to say that man was cursed in his mothers belly that was borne to be killd with a great shott; yet he of[f] frome St. Vincients monastary was kild with a great shott, sittinge one a chest in the Merchant

<sup>1</sup> Larnaka, on the south coast of the island.

<sup>2</sup> Identified in the margin as 'the Perigr[in?] of Master Cordells.' A vessel of that name (120 tons) appears in a list of ships belonging to the Levant Company in 1600, printed by Dr Epstein (p. 224).

<sup>3</sup> See the list of ships given later.

<sup>4</sup> Apes' Hill, or Jebel Mūsa, near Ceuta.

<sup>5</sup> Near Tunis.

<sup>6</sup> The well-known Porto di Malamocco.

Royall, John Calthorp captaine, he lieftenant, a very honest and a proper man. Lett all take heed of temptinge God, ether in un-ruminated wourd or unreverend deed.

Nowe I safely arived in England the second time frome Constantinople, whear nere seven years I had at that time passed of this wourlds pilgrimage; usinge my smaule stocke, had some imployment for Master Cordell and others, with also factorage profit of fishes teeth. Five per cent. for some I put to accompt, four for othersome, and four per cent. for all the busines I did, except Master Cordells, for which I toke what Wm. Aldrich would alowe me. The seahorsses teeth was a very luckie marchandice<sup>1</sup>. One parcell, cost in England but 205*li.* 8*s.* 10*d.*, mad them above 2000 d[uca]ts Gould in Constantinople, and ther retorne frome Alepo must needs be more then 1000*li.* sterling. Such lucke scarce happens in a mans lifetime. Other teeth that came after weare dearer bought and for lesse sould; yet of them also a very great reconinge. Thus plaine the gentilman, agent, and merchaunt, all my paines yealded me, by Gods permission, 30 cwt. of nutmeggs, all my expences and chargis defraid; also 50*li.* by exchange I received of Morris Abbott<sup>2</sup>, that had delivered of mine for his use at Aleppo. Heare was my estate, and 500 crounes I left in Turkie untill my retorne; with a rest in the hands of Master N. Salter.

My sister I endowed (augmentinge hir portion above 100*li.*) and gave her in mariadge to R. Hopkins, salter<sup>3</sup>. Nowe to my paine I toke an apprentice, who was a great crosse to me; yet I discharged my contience towards God concerning him and did him good assueredly, thoughte he had a murtherouse<sup>4</sup> hart and injured me exceedingly, as may be seene in some part of this

<sup>1</sup> *Marginal note.* 'The seahorses teeth were sent me by Phillipp Grimes and Nicolas Salter; out of which it pleased the Lord Almightye to geve me a good and luckie increase. His name be ever praised.' The 'seahorses teeth' seem to have been walrus tusks.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Sir Morris Abbot, one of the most prominent merchants of the time; governor of the East India Company, 1624-38; nominated as Assistant in the Levant Company's charters of 1600 and 1605; lord mayor in 1638-39. He was brother of George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>3</sup> See later (p. 32).

<sup>4</sup> Amplified later by this marginal note: 'John Hanger, a tratorouse servant, thought to stabbe me with a steletto, which I by strivinge toke out of his pockett.'

booke<sup>1</sup>. But God Almighty had His wourke; all good for my soule, and so I applie it. For I was markt and mortified emongest that contentiouse crue. Gobo<sup>2</sup> Garaway died with wenching at Sio. Charl[e]s Merrell, the monger<sup>3</sup>, shott dead throughe the head, in the way to Alepo, by a janesary shutinge at a pignon. Envious Barli died a begar at the Grange (?); Lumbard at London, no lesse. Harman, a k[nave ?] and a roge. Tient, a knave graver. Midnall the cocould, alive<sup>4</sup> at the Indies. Pate dead at Sidon; W. Aldrich at Modon<sup>5</sup>; Field in the west contry with his froward wife is fadlinge [i.e. toying]; and Bourne (Davi) with marchandisinge makes much padlinge [i.e. peddling], and now is banckrout and (some say) a cockold.

At Stambole<sup>6</sup> this third time arived, I was treasurer, so desiered by the Turkie Company; levied an imposition and consoldge of all thier goods; gave my bills of exchange back uppon the treasurer in England, who then was Alderman Anderson<sup>7</sup>. But of mallice they all in generall had to the ambassiator [i.e. Lello] they, contrary to reson, resisted my order; which I forcinge them to, by the ambassiators authoritye, they also became to me most bitter vilanes, and malitiously wounded me emongest them, by the hands of Tient and Bourne. Yet staid I ther above two years; and so to Jerusalem, wher with the Popish friers I contrasted [disputed], and went to the Patriark of the Greeks. By means of mony the Bassas Caia<sup>8</sup> deputie, in his masters absence, thretned me imprisonment, toke away my swourd, and with

<sup>1</sup> See later (p. 24).

<sup>2</sup> John: see f. 373 a, where a copy of a bond given by Sanderson to him is entered, with Gobo (doubtless a nickname) written in the margin.

<sup>3</sup> From a later reference it is clear that 'whoremonger' is intended.

<sup>4</sup> A marginal note (added subsequently) corrects this by saying: 'Since dead.' For an account of John Midnall or Mildenhall's journeys to India and his death in that country in June, 1614, see my *Early Travels in India*, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> 'William Aldrige died and was buried at Modon [Modoni] in the Moria. Robert Gould (alias John Gould by the Greeks baptisinge) at Patras. Master Stapers three sonns, one, Thomas, the eldest, at Constantinople, Rowland at Petrasse, Richard at Tripolie (Sirria), wheare also is interred Master William Garaway his eldest sonn' (note at f. 373 a).

<sup>6</sup> Istanbul, the Turkish name for Constantinople.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Henry Anderson, alderman from 1601, and sheriff in 1601-02. He was Master of the Grocers' Company in 1599-1600, and was knighted 26 July, 1603. His death occurred on 13 April, 1605.

<sup>8</sup> *Ketkhuda* (colloquially *kchaya*) means an agent or deputy.

12 dts. of gould I stopt his mouth and salved the avania<sup>1</sup>. But my adversary friers (as was by Jewes related to me) spent above 200 peces [of] gould; for which, and thier mallice of my disdainig Popish superstition, they writt my arrant to thier bretherin friers at Tripolie, who sought secret advaintadge some waye to mischiefe me. Twise I was shott at, out frome thier house, going the heyghe waye to the sandie redd hill, beinge both tims in company of Galana the Jewe, a broker who belonged to the Italians. The first time I suspected nothing, though he lingered after, and the bullett fell not past half a yeard frome me; which I tould him of, and he said the Padre or Francesco shott at a bird. A weeke after, also beinge the Jewes Saboth, Galana, the said Jewe, came and praied me to walke. I, suspecting nothing, went the same way; but another bullett flopt uppon the leaves in the ditch, hard by my feete. The Jew nowe seemed to mervaile. I had cause to suspect, but said nothing; yet shunned that waye, and by Gods power escaped thier snares. So did I (I thanke the eternall God) an intrappment laid in the night to single me out frome the company, as we travailed betwene Bethell and Sichem towards Jerusalem.

*Escaped the  
shott by the  
almightie  
hand of God.*

*A  
wonderfull  
escape.*

At Jerusalem, uppon the topp of Mount Olivet (with joy of hart I heare record it) I prostratly praied, in which I yet am comforted. Lett the eternall God be ever glorified in Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer.

The Trogian broke uppon Tripoli Rocks. Ther I had a losse of some things I was provid[ed] of. I came to Zant in the Edward Bonaventure; thence to Venis in the Cherubin, and so for England by way of France. My goods and servant I sent home in the Mermaid. In this my third voyadge frome Constantinople I sent some ten bailes of grogera[n], 32 and above in a baile. This voyadge for ornament without; the last, for comfort within; all in abundance. The God of heaven and yearth be gloryfied ever for His great and exceedinge mercies infinitely powered uppon me, His most unwourthy servant,

JOHN SANDERSON.

<sup>1</sup> This term was in general use as meaning an official tax or imposition. It may be derived from the Italian *avania* ('wrong' or 'insult'), for it was often used in the sense of an unfair exaction.



[*Written later*]

Nowe since my last beinge in Ingland I have bine much abused by a pockie Scott and a paultry woman, Barton the ambassitors sister, ill rewaudinge my charitie extended to hir kinsman deceased<sup>1</sup>. Also by the banckerowte John Bate and the banckerowte Wm. Gibson. Also by Holowell<sup>2</sup>, parson of St. Lawrence, a good talker, but to me an evill performer. Much grefe I also have susteyned by the losse of my mother, sister, and brother Doctor Sanderson<sup>3</sup>, brother-in-lawe, and other frends, whose comforts I waunt in this wourld. And nowe, by Gods permission, am arived to the 56th yeare of my pilgrimadge, Anno Dom. 1615.

[*A further addition, 1622*]

Thus, by the power and permission of God Almightye, I have, as you see, filled this booke with the passages of my worldly pilgrimadge hetherunto. Now have I noted also in another great booke much of this discourse and the proceed of my life led in this world to the 62th yeare of my adge.

Thes two great bookes weare my fathers before I was boarne, and should have bine filled with other accompts, yf God had pleased to prosper his tradinge. But the Lord in His great mercie did never lett him nor his waunt that that was always sufficient, and about 44 years since He toke him to Himselfe.

<sup>1</sup> See note on Sanderson's letter to Robert Barton in Aug. 1606 (below).

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Holloway, M.A., D.D., succeeded Dr Sanderson as vicar of St Lawrence Jewry and remained there until his death in 1616.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Sanderson, born in 1561, was sent, like his brother, to St Paul's School (R. B. Gardiner's *Admission Registers* (1906), p. 6). Thence in 1577 he proceeded to Oxford (Magdalen College). He took his B.A. degree in Nov. 1582, and in May 1585 became a fellow of Balliol and M.A. In August 1594 he was presented by that college to the living of St Lawrence Jewry; and nine years later he was transferred to All Hallows the Great, Upper Thames St. The degree of D.D. was given him by Oxford University in May 1605, at which time he was one of the translators of the Bible. In the following year he became archdeacon of Rochester, and at the close of 1611 he was made in addition a prebendary and canon of St Paul's. He died in 1614. (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*; Newcourt's *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum*, 1708, pp. 201 n, 249, 386; Hasted's *Kent*, vol. II, p. 47.)

## SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

HIS FATHER'S DEATH (*f.* 309 *b*)

This yeare, beinge 1579, my father departed this life, in the time he was churchwarden of the parish of St. Fayth under Paules; wheare he had dwelt some 25 years, and had more 17 yeares to come in his house (of which, after his decease, my mother made above 20*li.* per yeare, and yet reserved convenient romes for hirselfe, servants, and two daughters). It is the inner corner, nowe a bookesellers, with a yeard and a tenement; in time past it was a chappell<sup>1</sup>. Ther were we all borne; to say, John, Thomas, Jane, Grace, Luce, Robert. The two last died younge; Jane, an unspotted virgin, died at the adge of 17 years<sup>2</sup>; whose soules, no doubt, with our good father, ar in eternall blessednes. So bringe us other four<sup>3</sup> at Thy good pleasure, oh Christ!

My father, Thomas Sanderson, by desent a jentillman of the north contry, but lately a sitisen of London, free of the Haberdashers, and occupied that trade, deceased (as abovesaid) the yere of Our Lord 1579; his bodie buried in St. Faythes church<sup>4</sup> under Poules church, betwene the two pillors one the right hand when you first enter at the hethermost dore within the partition. I say betwene the two pillors hard by the goinge up to the sermon

<sup>1</sup> We learn from Stow's *Survey* (vol. 1, p. 330) that in the churchyard on the north side of St Paul's was 'a large charnell house for the bones of the dead, and over it a chappell of an olde foundation... [The tombs in the chapel were] pulled downe in the year 1549.... The chappell and charnill were converted into dwelling houses, warehouses, and sheades before them, for stacioners, in place of the tombes.' Probably the elder Sanderson's dwelling was one of these. He seems to have taken a lease of it in 1554 for twenty-one years, and on its expiration to have obtained another for a like period.

<sup>2</sup> In 1583. At *f.* 341 *b* will be found a letter from Sanderson to his mother, condoling with her on the death of Jane.

<sup>3</sup> He is including his mother, who was still living when he wrote this.

<sup>4</sup> The parish church of St Faith was originally in the crypt of St Paul's, to the west of a chapel known as the Jesus Chapel; but when the latter was suppressed, in the reign of Edward VI, the parishioners of St Faith were allowed to make use of it in place of their own church, as being larger and better lighted. It was under the choir of the cathedral. (Stow's *Survey*, vol. 1, p. 329.)

place. Master Lambs tome<sup>1</sup> also is betwene the two pillors at the enterance of the second dore, but his is without, my fathers within, the partition, as I have before notified. I say he l[i]eth buried ther in an ould vault, as it chaunced, for ther by happ I chose his place of buriall. But as yet ther is no memoriall of him, but may be heareafter. 1608<sup>2</sup>.

THE DEATH OF HIS MOTHER<sup>3</sup> (ff. 368 b and 369 a)

Anno 1611, one Newe Years Day<sup>4</sup> at night my mother, be[ing] neer hir lifes end, spake the wourds folowinge unto me. Askinge hir howe she did, she answered: 'Very weake, Son, I thanke God'; further addinge: 'I beseche Him of His great mercie to release me and take me out of this wourld at His good pleasure. I pray ye, Sonne, pray for me.' I said: 'so I have and d[o].' 'I [aye], but,' saith she, 'doe so indeede, that I maye find joye at my death, as I had of you at your birthe.' The morninge folowinge she left this life, at nine of the clocke, most comfortably, emeditatie after hir prayers concluded. [*In margin.* Isabell Sanderson, who lived a widowe aboute 33 years and was aged about 77 at the least.]

*Written this 62 years of my adge, in anno 1622. My mothers inventory came to about 60*li*. (so [ap]praised with the least).*

<sup>1</sup> William Lamb was a well-known philanthropist: see Abraham Fleming's *Memoriall* of him, published in 1580. He was Master of the Clothworkers' Company (1569-70), and a portrait of him is preserved in their hall. Stow (*Survey*, vol. 1, p. 337) mentions his tomb as being in 'the chapple of Jesus.' Of course the monuments there were destroyed when the cathedral was burnt in the Great Fire (1666).

<sup>2</sup> On the same page are some entries crossed out. Apparently these were written by the elder Sanderson (to whom the book had belonged originally), for against the passages John Sanderson has scrawled: 'I love to see this his handwrittinge, in memori[a]ll of him, who was so godlie a man, yea, God his man, his marter.' Other entries, made while the book belonged to the father, occur at ff. 310 a and b, 311 a.

<sup>3</sup> Her maiden name was Isabel Foxall, and she was the second daughter of John and Joan Foxall, of Coventry. She had three brothers, one of whom has been mentioned on p. 2 (Brit. Mus. *Harleian MSS.* 1167, f. 42 b, and 1563, f. 70 b). She and her daughter Grace appear to have made their home with Dr Thomas Sanderson, presumably upon his being appointed to the living of St Lawrence Jewry.

<sup>4</sup> 1 January, 1612. Although legally the year commenced on 25 March, that day had not succeeded in ousting the first of January from its ancient position as New Year's Day. Probably this was due to the persistence of the practice of giving New Year presents at the beginning of January.

Goods as foloweth, which Master Doctor [i.e. his brother Thomas] toke and not prised, to say, hir wainscote and settles in the [hall?], hir great presse that stands in his chamber, and the bedstead he lies in, with painted clothe and many other thinges which I name not, was wourth at the least 10*li*. Besides, in hir lifetime she gave him a doble bell salt in silver, with silver spones, and many other thinges when first she came to live with h[im ?]. And what became of hir mony I knowe not; whether she gave it to [her ?] daughter before hir decease, or howe otherwayes. It was so cleane caried away that I had not one peny the of for my part, but was in my lifetime and hers at charge with hir as per the per contra accompt<sup>1</sup> apeareth. And so God His peace is with hir.

I, John Sanderson, had of my mother: first, my fathers seale Gould ringe; and, at my going to sea in 1589, in Gould 5*li*.; more, at my second goinge into Turkie, in mony she gave me 20*li*.; and after hir decease a diamond ringe, a dieper tablecloth, sheets, etc., and also two nedleworke cussins and two brass candlestickes.

#### HIS LOVE AFFAIR

To f. 387 Sanderson has affixed two slips, viz. the address and the signature of a note from Ann Bourton to himself, and has appended: 'This Mistress Burton was Master Barthram Calthorps eldest daughter<sup>2</sup>. But I loved very well his 3d. daughter,

<sup>1</sup> For this account see f. 368. It is a very detailed list of presents (rings, carpets, materials for dresses, gloves, ready money, etc.), and of payments for nursing and comforts during her last illness. The total is 88*l*. 5*s*. 8*d*., though this includes 2*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. 'alowed to my sister towards mourninge for our mother,' for which the latter could hardly be held responsible. Sanderson takes the opportunity to make a serious charge against his brother, for against an item of 12*l*. 10*s*. remitted to his mother by bill of exchange he writes: 'That 12*li*. 10*s*. the D[octo]r toke and answered not his mother. She told me before hir death that he never tould hir therof nor gave hir anythinge for it; said that she had geven him, when he began to keepe house, a doble bell salt of silver, which now, [she] said, he had changed, [and ?] mutch of hir brasse and pewter, which also he had changed.' On f. 367 *b* he notes that he did not question his brother about the matter; probably it had occurred to him that his mother's memory was hardly to be trusted, and that the money had possibly after all been laid out for her benefit.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Visitation of Norfolk* (Harleian Society, 1891), p. 67, Anne is shown as the third and Margaret as the second of the six daughters of Bertram Calthorpe of Thorpe Mallett. But Sanderson is scarcely likely to have been wrong.

Margeret by name, if mony had then bine to make up the game. In Anno 1588, 1589.' Also on f. 77 *b* he wrote in the margin his own name and 'Margerett Calthorp,' and proceeded to copy out the two following pieces of verse:

Sleepe, waward thoughts, and rest you with my Love.  
 Let not my Love be with my love displeased.  
 Touth not, proud hands, least you hir anger move;  
 But pine you with my longinges longe diseased.  
 Thus, while she sleeps, I sorrow for hir sake;  
 So sleeps my Love, and yet my love doth wake.

Change thy mind, since she doth change.  
 Lett not fancie still abuse thee.  
 Thy untreuth cannot seeme strainge,  
 Since hir faulshoud doth excuse thee.  
 Love is dead, and thow art free.  
 She doth live, thoughe dead to thee<sup>1</sup>.

J. S. M. C.

#### HIS TROUBLES WITH HIS APPRENTICE

*A brefe of the badd behaviour of John Hanger, apprentice unto John Sanderson (f. 182 b).*

After my arivall in England I was determined to have presented the underwritten unto the Worshipful Company of Drapers<sup>2</sup>; but ould Hanger, his leud sonn, and sone [i.e. son-in-law] Agar, together with Master Salter<sup>3</sup>, at Master Salters house came to a parlie with me; wher Master Agare intreated me that I would not explaine his brothers [brother-in-law's] doings to his father, but that it might be remitted. And so I was at that time content that he and Master N. Salter should meete aboute

<sup>1</sup> Of these two sets of verses the first is part of a song (author unknown) which was set to music by John Dowland and printed in his *First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1597). The volume has been edited by Dr E. H. Fellowes as part of his *English School of Lutenist Song-writers*. The second is a portion of a poem by Robert, Earl of Essex, printed in Robert Dowland's *Musical Banquet* (1610), with music by Richard Martin. The song, both words and music, has been reprinted in *The Musical Antiquary*, October 1909; the words are given in Bullen's *Lyrics from Elizabethan Song-books* (1887). This information has been kindly furnished by G. E. P. A. in *Notes and Queries* (17 November, 1928) and by Mr W. E. Doubleday, of the Hampstead Public Library.

<sup>2</sup> Should be 'Clothworkers' (see p. 28).

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Salter, clothworker, was nominated for alderman in Jan. 1611, but was not elected (Beaven, vol. 1, p. 148). He was knighted in March 1617. He belonged of course to the Levant Company, and was named in the 1600 charter as one of the Assistants.

it, have the hearing and ending it; but for all this the matter was not concluded untill five years after.

i. The vaine spendinge his fathers mony in the west contry, and other bad behaviour, of which to me was brought complaint.

ij. His evell demeanor in the shipp, brablinge and fightinge with some of them, and presomptiouslie ther gaminge in my sight, thoughe he had wowed [i.e. vowed] to his parents the contrary. Also some complained unto me of his dronkenness, curssing, swearing, and discontent.

iiij. At Constantinople, in Galata, scusinge [i.e. under pretext] to gett him heate, was sildome frome playe at tennis; and stole his maisters hose to make him baules, albeit his maister forbadd him; and withindores could never abide. His maisters backe beinge torned, was pleddinge faulcelly to the ambassitor that his maister did owe him 26*li.* sterling; and had gott one Birkhead to drawe his supplication.

iiij. Often fightinge and brawlinge. Bescratched one of the merchants, by name Sampson Newport. All beblodied a poore scollion, and tore awaye a pece of the maister cookes beard. Tore his maister out of his coate, and hassarded the breakinge both thier necks; which cast [i.e. blow] beinge reasoned of with him by the ambassitor, most audatiously answered him that he had but torne his maister out of his raggs.

v. Scribled to no purpose divers whole sheets of paper; of which beinge warned, malitiouslie to make amends did the like in his maisters great booke (this booke), with many other bad triks. And printed a naghe (which is his hand, beinge rubbd uppon the durtie pavement, with all his fingers spread) uppon his maisters white calico canapie.

vj. Most faulslly accused his maister of harde dealinge with him, by divers letters to his fathere; emongest which, that his maister would have had him committed [*sic*] a murther. Of which [h]is vilanies sometime repentinge him, writt againe to his said father divers recantinge letters. But after he perceaved his father harkened to his follies, tore the said letters out of his booke (where he had registrated them) and robbed me of the coppies of them and divers others that me imported.

vij. Intercepted my letters. Declared what I writt and spake.

Contraried me in all things. Betrayed me continewall, and was of the faction and counsell in wounding me one the face (the scarre remains for ever).

viii. Of himselfe, uppon his knees excusinge that he had bine in a whorehouse, sainge that he was suer I had bine tould it. And then he said he was but at the dore; yet after confessed he was above in the house, for that he had shirts ther a-mendinge; and fewe dayes after, the baude to that whoure saluted him at my heeles. And of his traceinge the streets to whores I have bine often informed.

ix. At his maisters controwlment he would lewdlye raile, and rapp out hudge othes and currsse most tireably, wishinge that he had faul[en] uppon his rapiers poynt when he first sawe me, and swoure by Gods blud he would no more waite one my trencher; which his waitinge uppon occation a little after I remitted. Then in time of my dineinge, my man never missed boulinge. He laughed me to scorne at the ambassiators table; for which, after he much urdged [i.e. provoked] me, I gave him a blowe or two under the eare. He most bravely turned againe and swoure no smaule othes; that yf he had bine aware [i.e. on the look out], I should not then have stroke him. So by the shoulders I thrust him out of the rome, and bad him retorne with his brave resolution. Thus greivouslie have I bine ever plagued with him. He caried a Venis stelletto in his pockett to have stabbed his maister with; which Venis steletto, after ten dayes warninge, I toke out of his pockett with my owne hand, and out of the other pockett six chequins gould, with divers handkerchers and idle love verses. The six peces gould I sent into England, together with the stelletto, unto his father, of a token, by the Royall Defence.

x. Whatsoever at any time his maister sett him aboute, he did it unfaythfully, overthaurtly [i.e. perversely], unluckelie, gromblinglye, scornefully, and most knavishelie. I sent him to Polermo for wine—two barks ladinge; he at his retorne tould me to my face that I had sent him a scurvie voyadge. I toke him with me when I was to loke over 40 bailes grogerains in Constantinople. He very disdainefully behaved himselfe, which was to me a great shame, in presence of Jewes merchaunts. In a

bargaine of salsa<sup>1</sup> ther waunted six okes, which was his doinges; so the merchaunts buyers lost 12 dollars<sup>2</sup>. By his negligence I waunted in 40 barrells tinne five q[ui]n[t]a[ll]s. In weying of other two chests tinne, I earnestlie willinge and charginge him to have a care of it, yet neglected he so that I lost the wourth of three d[ua]ts Gould when I wayed it againe. Eleven ducketts of Gould he saith to have delivered a Jewe; the Jewe hath swourne the contrary, so I was forced to alowe it againe. The said Jewe also affermeth to me by othe that John Hanger delivered him not the 65 d[ua]ts Gould, 147 aspers, made of tinne and brassill<sup>3</sup>. This he avowed to Hangers face in my presence; so betwene them I lost it. Hanger also testified faulselly in a matter of 36 braces [of] silk grogeraine bought; so that by his faulce wittnessinge I paid for a brace more then I had received, for Hanger said that some [of] the ambassiators people might cutt it of (out of my trunke) to make a capp.

xj. I was my owne cashier, for I durst not trust my servant, nether was willing he should have forfeited his father[s] bond. It may be he hath further deceived me, but I misse onely his recantinge letters and some fewe other letters and notes bound together with them; a paire of blacke wousted stockings; a furred wrought velvett capp; a nightgoune, and other thinges, with some of my linnen, which he left at Zant in his chest without my order; my sapetta<sup>4</sup> quite caried away; my lesser tronke all to peces by his knavery.

xij. In the shippe wherin I sent him for Ingland he tould divers in the gonnrome that his master used to picke his pocketts of his mony frome time to time, and that his father had sent him a venture in the Little Exchange and I kept it frome him; ad-dinge that, when he came in Ingland, he would have a boutte with

<sup>1</sup> Sarsaparilla. Hanger 'said that Dimo the cooke had stoulne the said salsa, but Demo said that it was he' (f. 180 a).

<sup>2</sup> In the petition to the Clothworkers' Company (given in part later) Sanderson added that 'the Jewes for the same caried him to justice in Constantinople. His maister, by the ambassiators means, freed him; but the Jewes lost the 12 dollars.'

<sup>3</sup> Brazil wood.

<sup>4</sup> At f. 184 b it is stated that Hanger 'was so bould to take a sappetta of his maisters to his fathers house; which his father in Fanchurch Streete confessed to his maister, and said it was a kind of hamper covered with lether.' Covell (*Early Voyages*, p. 233) mentions 'sapets, or leather hampers.'



me for it; and said that my doings weare extant in England. He was not ashamed to desier the ambassiator to father the openinge of my letters after he had intercepted them. Most vilanouse belieing and alwayes betraying me; wherby he thought to have excused his vilanose lienge devises to his father.

Thus most wickedlie have I bine ever tormented with this impe. A greater crosse of so lewde an apprentice never happened to any man; for my credett by thes his lewde proceadings have bine much impaired, wherby I am the wourse at least 500*li*. He was noted so leude a youth that his father could place him with no man before I axcepted of him. He was a swagerer and companion of plaiers. [He] lost in one night, of gould his mother had geven him to make a stocke, 18*li*. (this his mother and himsele tould me). He lost it in playe at dice to one Master Cullimers man, who was to departe for the Ilands. All thes thinges considered, I pray Your Worships he may be sent for and examined, and that it may be ordered howe I may be satisfied and this my bad servant dismissed.

*A coppie of the petition to the Company of Clothwourkers, when I was certified that ould Hanger had caused his sonne to be sett downe to be taken in of the livery, nether knewe I that he had formerlie mad him free [f. 184 a].*

To the Right Wourshipful the Master, the Wardens, and Assistance of the Wourshipful Company of Clothewourkers.

Your Wourshipps, accordinge to your accustomed manner, havinge with a just and unpartiall consideration perused the underwritten, it may please the same onely to graunt that which in the conclution is requiered, that is, a stay of the admittance of John Hanger into your livery. It is to[o] much that he hath bine mad free, contrary to his maisters knoweledge, consent, or contentment; consideringe the five years apprenticeshipp he oweth by indenture, and his evell demeanoure all the time of three years his maister was chargidd with him, goinge, remaineing, and retorninge out of Turkie.

[The first ten charges are omitted here, as they merely recapitulate, with some variations, those already given.]

11. His departinge frome his maister unlawfully, having five years of his apprenticeshipp to serve.

12. His stealinge an honest citizens daughter and marriage hir two yeares before his apprenticeshipp expiered; to which it may be he had his owne fathers consent, for, in the belienge of and unlawfull departinge frome his maister, his said father not onely seconds but maineteynes and stands in his defence, against all contience and right of good justice.

Heare Your Wourshipps may see what a noteable champion and good brother Father Hanger hath fomblid into the livery of your Company. My humble request is that his admittance may be stayed untill I may by lawe be answered whether he have or no to serve me out the five years, accordinge to his indenture (and his fathers forfeited bond). For he not onely departed frome my service unlawfully five years since, but also, before the time of his indenture was expiered I requiered my servant of his father, Master George Hanger, who had so longe unjustlie reteyned him, and have hearof sufficient wittnesse.

Your Wourships humble at commaund,

JOHN SANDERSON.

Perswaided by Master N. Salter, I delivered not the above-said. Then ould Hanger offered (as Master Salter tould me) but 50 or 60 gallands of wine. So that, waitinge yet his answeare, beinge resolved to sue him, I writt to Master Salter the letter folowing.

[Omitted. It emphasizes Sanderson's refusal to consider the offer made and complains of the delay in settling the dispute.]

*Coppie of a letter I writt Master Ley, he and younge Master Houlefourd beinge appoynted to arbytrate for them (f. 185 b).*

Master Ley,

Together with the gentillman thier frend, consider whether you thinke ther be in England such another simple as myselfe, to slipp advantadge uppon so slight an agrement as by your in-treatie I have bine brought unto. Whats a tonne and two rund-letts of wine? But seinge it is no otherwise, send me in the two

rundletts, to drinke downe some of my discontent, and mony of the two [*sic*] pipes I expect first of you, and so an end. Then at your pleasure I will render the bonde and indenture, together with a dischardge, yf so they desiere.

Your frend,

JOHN SANDERSON.

Who was at three years expences of diett, aparrell, and passagge in the shipps for John Hangar; in which time, with many other places, he was at Argier, Zant, Roads, Sio, Constantinople, Calsidon, Calcos Iles, the Blacke Sea, Sidon, and Scandarona; from thence in savetie to England, his tonge tiptt with two or three languadges more then he caried out with him. What I had towards his charge they knowe. In consience I tell you I am to be alowed for the abovesaid

li.	s.	d.
82.	0.	0.

aparrell, diett, etc.  
In 40 barrells tinne I was damnified by his necligence

16.	0.	0
-----	----	---

More in 2 chests tinne

1.	10.	0
----	-----	---

In tinne and brassill sould by him

33.	0.	0
-----	----	---

In mony sent by him to a Jewe

5.	10.	0
----	-----	---

My creditt deminished by receavinge him to be my apprentice, whome no man else would interteyne, may be esteemed 1000*li.*; say but

500.	0.	0
------	----	---

Nowe in contience I may demandaund my part of factorage of the 1000 or 2 he hath gained his father the time he ought me service, by indenture and bonde; for five years I aske but

100.	0.	0
------	----	---

His fathers contempt of me and, contrary to right, lawe, and justice, not onely takinge him frome my service but in my disdayne and disgrace to gett his freedome; by which he shewes in the wourld to make me of equale esteeme with a dogge thats not wourth the whisteling. Nowe to cure this contempt I may ad

62.	0.	0
-----	----	---

800.	0.	0
------	----	---

This some beinge accordinge to contience considered of, I am content to remitt the forfeiture of Master Agers bonde, because his brother-in-laws cariage hath bine towards me without compare<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On f. 151 *a* will be found entered the bond in question, dated 29 January, 1599, by which George Hanger and Thomas Agar agreed to forfeit 400*l.* in case John Hanger failed in fidelity during his apprenticeship, which was to last for eight years from Lady Day, 1599. The award of the arbitrators (Christopher Houlford, gentleman, and Hugh Ley, citizen and skinner) is entered at f. 150 *a*; it requires George Hanger to give Sanderson in settlement one pipe of good and sound Malaga wine and 18 gallons more. The date is 24 October, 1607. Three days later Sanderson gave a receipt for 11*l.*, as the value of one pipe of Malaga, and acknowledged the receipt of 12 gallons of sack (f. 149 *b*). Reciprocal releases are entered and recorded on f. 149 *b*.

There is much else in the MS. about Sanderson's troubles with his apprentice, including correspondence between George Hanger and his son, Sanderson and Salter, etc. (ff. 173-80). It appears that George Hanger, moved by his son's complaints, procured from Sir Robert Cecil a letter to the ambassador (Lello), desiring him to look into the matter. Lello replied, in a letter to the elder Hanger (f. 174 *a*), that the lad 'hath played the part of a troblesome and bad servant... The youth is troblesome, contentiouse, and takes a wrounge course. His master hath used him much better then his deserte.' Sanderson was furious to find himself maligned (as he conceived it) to the Secretary of State, and also resented the accusations made against him by his apprentice. In two letters to Salter he vigorously rebutted these. He denied keeping Hanger short of clothes, and in fact he seems to have been generous in this respect. The youth appears to have been somewhat of a dandy, for his master complains 'his washinge was every weeke doble so much as my owne.' 'Why, Mr. Salter, I tell you the very cuttinge of his coxcombe [i.e. hair] and shavinge of his sharpe chinne hath cost me to the barbar more then I spent my maister in seven years... I must have patience. It was my bad happ to axcept (of so many good offers) the very wourst and paulty Jacke that ever trobled man.' That he had behaved with cruelty to Hanger he also denied. He admitted having given him a few cuffs; but the only occasion on which he seriously chastised him was when he was assaulted by Tient and Bourne (see p. 18). 'At that instant, when I was so trecherously wounded one the face, indeed I was (as I had great reason to be) in collore with my servant, who was of the counsell and stode by me at the deed doinge, not so much as liftinge his tratorouse hand at any the crewe.' The most serious accusation of all was that Sanderson had instigated Hanger to stab Bourne in requital of the assault. This Sanderson strenuously denied. 'Yf I had had such intent, a Turke for two chequins would have done the employte.' Besides, he had intended to deal with Bourne himself; he 'purposed indeed divers and sondry times to have slashed his face, but still was prevented.'

Apparently John Hanger became a reformed character and prospered as a merchant. On f. 49 *b*, in a note undated but evidently written long after the dispute, Sanderson says: 'He is nowe at least 4,000*li.* in welthe before me his maister, that mad him anewe, for he was a wild wagg.'

HIS DEALINGS WITH HIS SISTER GRACE (*f.* 368 *b*)

Memorandum that at my first comminge out of Turkie I gave my sister a pece of fine purple stuffe to make hir a gowne, with other thinges to the valewe of (as by the noate apereth) the some of

<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
4.	7.	0

At my retorne the second time I bestowed one hir the valewe of

5.	0.	0
----	----	---

At hir mariadge, to better hir porcion, I gave hir of my owne

53.	0.	0
-----	----	---

[And] in newe mony out of the Minte

100.	0.	0
------	----	---

At my last comminge out of Turkie, since she was married, I gave hir a Turkie carpett, more wourth then

1.	10.	0
----	-----	---

Allso I formerly presented hir with a turkisse [i.e. turquoise]

2.	10.	0
----	-----	---

---

166.	7.	0
------	----	---

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My brother also gave hir at hir mariadge the some of 10*li.* in mony.

My cosen, Launcelott Peocoke<sup>1</sup>, had hir smaule stocke many years in use, which was but 28*li.* The said money he returned hir; and his wife gave hir onely an overpluse of 50*s.* Trifles at hir mariadge geven hir, as a casting bottle<sup>2</sup> of silver, spons, etc., with (I make accompt) my mothers blessing. So apeareth she was wourth to hir husband, hastie H.<sup>3</sup>, above 200*li.*, though he brought hir to seven childerin<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> From a pedigree given in the *Visitation of London*, 1568 (Harleian Society), it appears that Lancelot Peacock, haberdasher, was the eldest son of Robert Peacock and grandson of a Robert Peacock whose widow married Richard Sanderson of Yorkshire, and had a son, Thomas Sanderson of Northallerton, who may have been our author's father.

<sup>2</sup> A bottle for sprinkling perfumed waters, or a vinaigrette.

<sup>3</sup> Hopkins. In *Marriage Licences granted by the Bishop of London* (Harleian Society, 1887), p. 259, is the following entry: '1599, Feb. 2. Robert Hopkyns, of St. Matthew, Friday St., salter, and Grace Saunderson, of St. Lawrence Old Jewry, spinster, daughter of Thomas Saunderson, late of the city of London, deceased. At St. Lawrence Old Jewry.'

<sup>4</sup> Only one of these is mentioned in Sanderson's will; so presumably the others predeceased him.

HIS ACCOUNTS WITH HIS BROTHER (*f.* 366-7)

We gather from these that on his return in June 1598 Sanderson took up his abode with his bachelor brother in the latter's parsonage house of St Lawrence Jewry, and remained there until he left again for Turkey in February 1599. For his diet and lodging for that period he allowed the sum of 10*l.* Similarly, on getting back again in the end of October, 1602, he took up his abode with Dr Sanderson, and remained with him till the latter's marriage in 1606<sup>1</sup>, paying at the rate of 16*l.* per annum for his accommodation.

Some of the items charged against his brother are interesting:

My Lord of Canterbury <sup>2</sup> his picture	10. 0
Six Turkie painted books	3. 0. 0
Divers books I brought him frome Constantinople and Jerusalem	5. 0. 0
A Turkishe silke gerdell for My Lord of Canterbury	1. 0. 0
The picturs of Flora, Sir F. Drake, my owne	1. 0. 0
Four Turkie carpets, three in the parloure and one in his chamber	5. 5. 0
A fine Persian carpett he gave My Lord of Canterbury	20. 0. 0
The great siprus chest: it cost me above	8. 0. 0
Laid out for him when the Q[ueen] <sup>3</sup> was buried	3. 7
Your part of the charge of our pedigree and pattent	5. 0. 0
[Expenses] before your goinge to proceade doctor	55. 0. 0

Sanderson appends a list of presents to various divines for which he did not charge his brother, and he notes that the latter on 16 May, 1606, gave him back his bill, 'one the backside of which bill he writt in romaine hand: "Love me, and not mony. Let me have love, and not mony. I trust you for an acquittance. You are my brother and I am yours."' On this John Sanderson comments in his bitter way: 'He loves mony better then he loves me. He hath had both my love and mony.'

<sup>1</sup> This took place on 18 May, 1606 (*f.* 366 *a*). From *Marriage Licences granted by the Bishop of London*, p. 299, we learn that it was celebrated in Dr Sanderson's own church of Great All Hallows, Thames Street: that he was then a bachelor of 45: and that his bride was Ann Otmer, aged 50, of the parish of St Lawrence Jewry, widow of a surgeon named Lewis Otmer, who had died about a year before. Mrs Sanderson's death took place in 1609.

<sup>2</sup> Probably John Whitgift, who died in 1604.

<sup>3</sup> Queen Elizabeth was buried on 28 April, 1603.

SANDERSON'S WILL (*P.C.C.*: 29 *Skynner*)

To his niece, Anna Allen, daughter of Robert and Grace Hopkins, 100*l.*

To his godson, John Sanderson, son of Samuel and Barbara Sanderson, the rent of some land in Ireland, and 100*l.* upon his coming of age. To his goddaughter, Mary Sanderson<sup>1</sup>, 100*l.* upon her reaching eighteen years. To his godson, John Simpson, 100*l.* when sixteen. To his godson, John Day, son of Joseph and Alice Day, 40*l.* upon his coming of age. To his goddaughter, Katherine Flesher, 20*l.* upon marriage. To his kinswoman, Elizabeth Woulfe, and her two daughters, 10*l.* each. To Dorothy Wilbie, sister of the said Elizabeth, 20*l.* upon marriage.

To Samuel Purchas, 'Preacher,' 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

To the Company of Drapers 50*l.* to buy a silver basin and ewer, with his coat of arms in coloured enamel and around it the date and the following inscription: *This gift of remembrance was given by John Sanderson, Draper.* Underneath the arms is to be set his motto: *Coelum patria, Christus via.*

To the parish church of St Faith's under St Pauls (where he is to be buried) 150*l.* for the purchase of land, the rents thereof to be distributed by the churchwardens each Sunday after divine service to twelve poor men, each to receive three pennyworth of bread or three-pence in money. Any surplus from the rents is to be given to the churchwardens for the time being<sup>2</sup>.

To Robert Kimbye, son of his deceased friend, Richard Kimbye, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and a picture.

To the minister, clerk, and sexton of St Faith's, 'blackes' for mourning, and 40*s.* for the funeral sermon. To the minister who preaches that sermon, 40*s.*

Should the surplus estate exceed 500*l.*, 150*l.* of this is to be given to the Drapers' Company, to be used in making loans of 50*l.* each to

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of the aforesaid Samuel. She was born 31 May, and baptized 14 June, 1614 (*Familiae Minorum Gentium*, vol. III, p. 871).

<sup>2</sup> In Strype's edition of Stowe's *Survey*, 1720, bk. III, p. 147, it is stated that this benefaction was recorded upon 'a table hanging about the middle of the south ile of St. Faith's church anno Dom. 1630.' The tablet was doubtless burnt when the church was destroyed in the Great Fire. As regards the benefaction itself, the present rector of the united parishes of St Augustine and St Faith, the Rev. Prebendary Hobson, has been good enough to inform me that it does not now exist and that nothing is known concerning it.

three young beginners of the said Company, each loan to be for three years and without interest<sup>1</sup>.

The residue of the estate is to be divided between the executors, viz. Edmund Allen (nephew-in-law), John Walters and Fabian Simpson (friends).

Signed in London 30 June, 1624, and witnessed by Henry Rowse, Sir William Lower, and Obadiah Stannard.

### *Codicil*

Edmund Allen is not to act as executor unless he gives bond in 500*l.* to behave peaceably and faithfully in the execution of the will. The legacies to Mary and John Sanderson are to be void unless their father, Samuel, and their grandfather, Henry Sanderson, repay to the testator what they owe him. To his cousin, Samuel Sanderson, he leaves the pedigree of the family, together with certain pictures<sup>2</sup>. To William Scoll, brewer, he bequeaths a picture; and to Alice, wife of the same, some boxes and books he brought from Jerusalem and Constantinople. To his maid, Alice Fillpot, he leaves linen, etc. To the curate and clerk of St Giles-without-Cripplegate gowns are to be given.

Signed 25 August, 1626, in the presence of Hugh Over and Thomas Milles.

### *Memorandum to the Executors, 30 June, 1624*

'Lett all I have in the house of Edmund Allen in Ipswich be sold; and what Master Allen or his wife have a mind unto, let them have upon accompt of the 1000*l.* I promised her, and not otherwise.'

Will proved in London, 3 March, 1627.

<sup>1</sup> The 150*l.* was duly made over to the Drapers' Company in 1629 (together with the basin and ewer), and was for some time employed for the purpose specified. Owing, however, to some of the borrowers failing to return the principal, the whole amount has been lost long ago. The plate was remade in 1674 and the arms are no longer enamelled in colour; it is still in the possession of the Company (for particulars of it see the Rev. A. H. Johnson's *History of the Drapers' Company*, vol. iv, p. 474).

<sup>2</sup> The pictures mentioned in the codicil were portraits of 'Mahomet, the Great Turke,' 'Farratt Basshawe,' 'Benvenesco, the Jewe Doctor,' and Sir Francis Drake.



## SANDERSON'S TRAVELS (*f.* 138 *a*)<sup>1</sup>

By the permission of Almighty God. Sondry the personall voyages performed by John Sanderson of London, merchaunt. Begonn in October 1584, ended in October 1602; which appeareth to be within the space of 18 years and 16 dayes.

### HIS FIRST VISIT TO THE LEVANT, 1584-88

In the good shipp cauled the Marchaunt Royall we sett saile frome Gravesend uppon Friday, the 9th day of October 1584. The 15th to Harwidge. The 18th to the Ile of Weyght. The 15 of November we arived at Cape St. Vincent in Portingale, and went ther ashore<sup>2</sup>. The 24th we passed the Streights of Jebiraltare. At the Ingenies<sup>3</sup> we stayed and watered. The next day came to Grand Maliga, where we weare three dayes. The 29th we passed by Madrill<sup>4</sup>. Beheld the mountayne Salabrina<sup>5</sup>, which is continewally covered with snowe; of the same they cary to Lishbourne [Lisbon] to mixe with thier wine; which citie is esteemed to be 300 miles frome thence. The 13th November we passed

<sup>1</sup> As explained in the Introduction, the version printed by Purchas (vol. II, lib. ix, p. 1614) contains several passages or phrases not in the copy in our MS., besides marginal notes by Sanderson which are likewise lacking in the latter. In both cases these have been added to the text above, the former being inserted in their proper places but printed in italics, and the latter being included among the notes.

Since the author's travels have already been narrated to some extent in his autobiography, the reader should refer from time to time to the version there given.

<sup>2</sup> 'We were shewed the monastery and fine adorned chappell; a decked altar; and the golden image of Saint Vincent, which stood on the right hand below the steps of the altar. About five or sixe yeeres after, as is sayd, Sir Francis Drake did throw that image over the rocke' (note in Purchas). The reference is to Drake's operations in May 1587, when he captured Sagres Castle and the fortified monastery at Cape St Vincent, sacking and burning both (Corbett's *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, vol. II, p. 93).

<sup>3</sup> Apparently a spot near Gibraltar where ships watered, so named from some sugar-mills (*ingenios*).

<sup>4</sup> Motril, halfway between Malaga and Almeria.

<sup>5</sup> The town of Salobreña is about 30 miles S. of Granada. The range referred to is the Sierra Nevada, the tops of which are visible a long way out to sea.

Cape d' Gatt<sup>1</sup>. The 3d December we came to Cape de Faro<sup>2</sup>. Heare the ship Charitie overtoke us. The 10th December we came to Sardinia; the 13th to Maritima<sup>3</sup>, and in sight of Cape Bona<sup>4</sup> in Barbary; the 15th to Sicilia. We sawe Mount Etna and Mongebella, which then flamed<sup>5</sup> out of the top, althoughe uppon the same was also snowe. Then to Cape Passara<sup>6</sup>. The 24th of December we arived at Sefalania [Cephalonia], and staid ther three dayes. The 29th we weare in Zant Road, and went ashore the first of January [i.e. 1585]. The 7th we put frome thence, and the 8th at midnight the shipp came aground, so that for half an hower we weare in great danger. The 12th we arived at Petras in the Morea, wher we stayed a fewe dayes; and at that time onelie I noted of memory St. Andros Chappell, wherin the Greeks say his bodie lieth buried. The 29th I toke shippinge in the Charati, and came the first of Febrewary backe to Sefalania. Passed Serigo, *where faire Hellen was borne*, and Cape Angelo. The 4th, the wind beinge contrary, we anchored betwene the ilands of Milo and Argentiero. Sett saile and with contrary wether and calmes came to the iland Patmos. The 11th frome thence. Driven a little backe againe; yet we arived in Sio<sup>7</sup> the 14th. Ther stayed four dayes. The wether yet unprosperouse, we put into Port Dolfin<sup>8</sup>, which is in the same iland, three leagues distant

<sup>1</sup> Cape de Gata, at the eastern extremity of Almeria Bay.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the promontory now known as Cap de Fer, on the coast of Algeria.

<sup>3</sup> The small island of Marittimo, off the western coast of Sicily.

<sup>4</sup> Cape Bon, the north-east point of the coast of Tunis.

<sup>5</sup> 'Then flamed; and since I have divers times passed by it, but onely now the smoke is seene on the top of that Mount Mongebella' (note in Purchas). Monte Bella and Etna are synonymous; 'a verrie heie mountayne, the which they do cale Montabell, but the ryghte name of it is mounte Etna' (Dallam in *Early Voyages*, p. 17).

<sup>6</sup> Cape Passaro, the south-east point of Sicily.

<sup>7</sup> 'Sio for the pleasantnesse is called the Great Turkes Garden. In that iland are many tame partridges, and there groweth mastick. The bodies of those trees are crooked and cragged, not much thicker then very old vine bodies. The leaves are somewhat like mirtle leaves, rather longer and narrower. There are no masticke trees in all the world but those in Sio, as some doe say' (note in Purchas). The mastic tree (*Pisum Lentiscus*) grows in many of the Mediterranean countries, and also in the Canaries; but the manufacture of the resin (now chiefly used in making varnish) is still almost exclusively confined to Scio. For Dallam's visit to the island see *Early Voyages*, p. 43.

<sup>8</sup> Coloquinta (Kolokythia), anciently Delphineum. The mountain is apparently Hagios Ilias, and the town Kardamyli.

frome the towne of Sio [Kastro]. Ther we went up to a moun-  
tayne (hard by a towne cauled Gardamolo) wher the poet Homer  
lieth buried. The 23th we put out, and the 27th we passed by  
Ould Troy; some of the ruinated waules yet standinge. Then we  
passed two great castells, which ar cauled the Dardinelli<sup>1</sup>. A little  
within them is a very ould ruine of a towne cauled Heretho,  
which is reported to be the place where the Turk[s] first planted  
themselves in Europ<sup>2</sup>. Then to Galipoli; so to Rodesto; and the  
9th day of March we arived at Constantinople.

In the time of my ther beinge I went to see the chefe monu-  
ments, which ar discribed at lardge in a booke I tranclated out of  
Italian, presented me by a Jewe doctor<sup>3</sup>. Emongest the be[a]sts  
I did at that time see three elifants. Also the Great Turks doggs  
and manner of keepinge them ar wourth the sight; for they have  
thier severall attendants as yf they weare great horsses, and have  
thier clothinge of cloth of gould, velvett, scarlett and other col-  
lours of cloth, their sondry couthes. And the place wheare they  
ar kept, most clenlie; it is in Asia, some four miles off by water  
toward the Blacke Sea<sup>4</sup>. I was likewise at the mouth of the

<sup>1</sup> 'These two castles our schollers will have to bee those of Hero and Leander; yet sure they are eightie leagues before you come to the mouth of the Blacke Sea. These are very formall and very strongly built castles, double furnished with excellent good and great ordnance; the one standing on Troy side, the other right opposite on Europe side. The passage is about a league, a little more or lesse' (note in Purchas).

The castles are now represented by Sultanieh-kalesi (Chanak) on the Asiatic side and Khilid Bahar on the opposite coast. The supposition (mentioned later) that Sestos and Abydos were on these sites is quite wrong. Abydos is believed to have been situated about three miles north of Sultanieh-kalesi, and Sestos on the Bay of Aq-bashi-limanu, on the other side of the strait.

<sup>2</sup> The Turks crossed at the narrowest part of the straits, where a rocky strand is still called *Ghaziler Iskelesi*, or the Victor's Landing. 'Two or three miles further is a hill crowned with a scanty ruin, called Zemenic... where the standard of Sulaiman, son of Orkhan, was first planted on the Thracian shore' (Murray, p. 128).

<sup>3</sup> *Vide infra*. With Sanderson's own account of the city the reader should compare those given by Mundy (vol. I, pp. 20-40), who was at Constantinople in 1617-20, and by Della Valle, who was there in 1614-15.

<sup>4</sup> 'My Lord Souch, when hee was there (as Master Barton sayd), did like exceeding well of this place and attendance of the doggs' (note in Purchas). For Edward la Zouch, eleventh Baron Zouch of Harringworth, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*. From 1587 to 1593 he was wandering about the Continent, but this appears to be the only reference to his visit to Constantinople.

Blacke Sea<sup>1</sup>, wheare uppon a rock standith a white marble pillowre; as is reported, sett up by Pompei<sup>2</sup>. One the maine one Europe side, within little of the said pillore, is a lanthorne, which standith highe and is so great that 40 men may stand in it. It is glased, and they light in it many lamps every night, that the shippinge bound frome the Blacke Sea may knowe whear they ar<sup>3</sup>.

In a gallie with the Beg of Alexandria I departed frome Constantinople the 9th day of October 1585. We put into Galipolie, Troy, Lemnos, Mitelin, Sio, Samos, and divers other ilands in the Arches Apelago, and came to Roads<sup>4</sup>, a most stronge place and mutch exceeding great ordinance ther. Uppon the two rocks where the Colossi<sup>5</sup> (one of the Seven Wounders) stoad ar nowe two highe terretts. The towne doble ditched and triple wauled one the land side. Frome thence we crossed the seas in six dayes very prosperouslie, and arived in Alexandria of Egipt the second day of November. That citie and land standeth so lowe that, except<sup>6</sup> the Pharos and some sight of the topps of palme trees, you may be uppon it before ye by [*read* be] ware; which is very dangerouse for the shippes that come thether, for in my time

<sup>1</sup> 'In my company at that time was an ancient English gentleman, called Captayne Austel' (note in Purchas). See Hakluyt, vol. v (p. 320), for the journey of Henry Austell to Constantinople and back in 1585. In this Austell says: 'The 15 [September] we went to the Blacke Sea, called Pontus Euxinus, and there upon a rock we sawe a pillar of white marble that was set up by Pompeius. And from thence we passed to the other side of the water upon the shore of Asia, and there we dined.'

<sup>2</sup> The pedestal of this column yet remains.

<sup>3</sup> For descriptions of this lighthouse and Pompey's pillar see Hakluyt, vol. vi, p. 106; Sandys, p. 31 (where a view of the lighthouse is given); Mundy, vol. 1, p. 20; and Della Valle, vol. 1, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> In Purchas this is printed as 'Rhodes,' and the following is added in a note: 'At Rhodes I did fall overboard, a Flemming taking mee by the hand, out of a little shelboat [i.e. small boat], a blackmoore sculler. By meanes of the Turkes and the helpe of God, I was taken againe into the gally, after I had bene in the bottom of the sea. The Beg came by as I was shifting, and laughingly said that now God had washt me, because I would not wash in the banias [Ital. *bagno*, a bath] as we came by the way.' A fuller account of the incident has been given already on p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> The Colossus was a gigantic bronze statue of the Sun God, erected near the harbour. It was destroyed in the fourth century; and legend magnified it into a colossal figure bestriding the entrance. From his use of the plural, Sanderson seems to have thought that there were two statues, one on each rock. Purchas prints the word as 'Collosses.'

<sup>6</sup> Purchas improved the reading by substituting for 'except' the words 'were it not for.'

divers weare cast awaye, emongest other a great argusie of Venis, cauled the Galion Bon<sup>1</sup>; and another Venetian shipp leaped over a rocke, very miracoluslie escaped, havinge overshott the port of Alexandria. That said ledge of rocks lieth out into the sea a little beyound Bickier [Abukir].

Frome Alexandria I went the 19th and came to Grand Cairo the 29th, passinge by land  $1\frac{1}{2}$  day and a night to Rossetto, and ther imbarked up the river Nilus, our boat beinge drawne alonge the shore by the watermen Moors. We passed many townes and viladges. Very pleasaunt is that travaile; onely the heat trobleth, and some feare of theeves, which continewally robb one that river, and alike one the land. Many famouse matters I was shewed in the waye, as the ould ruins of conducts of Nilus to the citie of Alexandria; for ther ar no springes nor provition of fresh water but what commeth frome Nilus, which I say in time past have been conducted 20<sup>2</sup> or 30 miles to fill the cesterns under the citie. For Alexandria is built uppon admirable marble pillours, all vaulted underneath<sup>3</sup>, every house havinge his sondry sesterns; the water formerlie havinge come in, and nowe is, uppon cambles backs in letherne budgetts [i.e. bags] brought thether. I say they fill them [i.e. the cisterns] the moneth of August, when Nilus is at the hiest; and that water they drinke of all the yeare. The same remaineth, thoughe standinge, yet sweete one whole yeare. Towards the end of the yeare it is hevier then at first, cleare as christall, and not so houlsome<sup>4</sup> to drinke as when it is

<sup>1</sup> 'There dwelt in Cairo a Jew, called Emanuel Seroluo, who ever much joyed at all mishap that he heard of, and did eate swines flesh. Much given to mirth, and many times using to our house. I questioned him of his religion, at a collation of bacon. He said that hee was of all religions: that if any entred heaven, them hee would follow. I asked why he did so rejoyce at the losses and crosses of other men. "Why, Signior Giovanni," sayth he, "I lost 60,000 chequins in good gold at the third bastinado upon my feet, taken from me by the devill Basha after the decease of my companion; and 60,000 more, if I had so many, I would lose before I would suffer three such other blows; and better then gold it is to my heart when I heare that others with my fortune take part"' (note in Purchas).

<sup>2</sup> Purchas reads 'five and twentie.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Alexandria was all built upon vaults, supported with carved pillars one above another, and lined with stone' (Sandys, p. 89). John Evesham (Hakluyt, vol. vi, p. 35) says that the city is 'all vaulted underneath for provision of fresh water.' See also Della Valle, vol. i, p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> Purchas reads 'unwholsome.'

but fewe monethes ould. So againe towards August they clence thier cesterns, to take in freshe. Ther ar store of divers frutes. Smaule fig trees I have seene, not above  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foote frome the ground, havinge divers ripe figgs uppon them. Ther ar also some fewe cassia trees, locusts<sup>1</sup>, and capers<sup>2</sup>; but very many about Cairo. All the whole land full of date trees.

In Alexandria is St. Marks church<sup>3</sup> (a church at this day of Christians), and ther is a noted place at the enterance of the said church wheare St. Marke preached. Ther ar divers pillours of name within and without the citie<sup>4</sup>. Within the waules is an ould ruine of the castell whear Cleopatra was stonge to death<sup>5</sup>. Ther is also a ruine of a highe castell cauled the Faros<sup>6</sup>, one of the Seven Wounders. In the way as I passed we ridd over the plaine wheare Pharo pitched his tent; the spatiosnes whereof was admirall, beinge marked out to this day with four great stones. Eight days we weare goinge up Nilus, and arived at Bullaco [i.e. Bulaq], the port towne of Cairo, which is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles frome the citie<sup>7</sup>; frome whence also they fetch all the water that servith that great citie.

<sup>1</sup> The carob tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*).

<sup>2</sup> The caper plant (*Capparis spinosa*).

<sup>3</sup> 'There lieth one John, a Christian, which the Cufties [Copts] do make account of. Hee was long since carried about Cairo upon a camels backe, bound, with his armes spred abroad upon a crosse of wood, and on the top of his shoulders, neere his necke, were two lamps burning in his flesh; yet for all this torment he all the way cried *Christos, Christos, Christos: sum Christiano, et moro Christiano*. This was to mee related by an old Cuftie priest, whose name was Comous; and a scriván [Ital. *scrivano*, a writer] also hee was, of the custome house in Alexandria' (note in Purchas). The church is mentioned by Della Valle (vol. 1, p. 205).

<sup>4</sup> Including Pompey's Pillar and the two obelisks, known as 'Cleopatra's Needles,' which have since been removed to London and New York respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Either the palace of the Ptolemies, which covered the promontory of Silsileh, or the Caesareum, which was begun by Cleopatra.

<sup>6</sup> This celebrated lighthouse was built by the first two Ptolemies on the eastern point of Pharos Island. The site is now covered by the sea. Close by is Fort Qait Bey, originally built in 1480, to serve the double purpose of a lighthouse and a fort. It was of course this building that Sanderson saw.

<sup>7</sup> 'There are ever boyes ready with asses to let for Cairo. So that wee hire them, and presently [i.e. immediately] pay the hire (about a penie matter); and when we come to Cairo turne off our asse without more care, for the asse knows his place and home. The like we doe when we ride to the castle, to the Bashaw and Cadielesquiers, who doe thereabout inhabit' (note in Purchas). 'Cadielesquier' is *Qadi el-Asker*, a supreme judge; see Lybyer, p. 220.

Cairo is mutch bigger then Constantinople. Many thinges noteable ar in and about this citie, which others no doubt reporteth and ar not beleved; as ar the twelve storehouses wheare they say Josiph kept the corne the seven deere years (some say the same was reserved in the vaults of the Peramidis). I went twise to a place tenn miles frome Cairo, cauled the Mataria<sup>1</sup>, beinge yet solemly visited by Christians; it is wheare Josiph and Mary remained with our Saviour. Ther is a springe of water which, as they report, have bine ever since; and alike a plott in a garden wher groweth spriggs that yealdeth balsamo. The Papists come often to this house a massinge in great devotion, and observe a place like a cubberd, wher they say our Saviour was laid; and alike a great crossebodied wild figge tree in the gardin, with also the water wherein our Ladie washed *our Saviours clouts*.

At Cairo I was shewed howe and of what sorts of serpents the Moors do make thier treacle<sup>2</sup>. I did ther also see both wild and tame gattie pardie<sup>3</sup> (cats of mountayne, as we caule them), little and great monkies, bragons<sup>4</sup>, muske cats, gasells (which ar a kind of roebucke), bodies of momia [see p. 44], and live cocadrills<sup>5</sup>, both of land and water; which have bine offered at my gate to be sould. Some I have bought at some tim[e]s for my recreation, of most of thes sorts; for ther I remained 18 monethes. Onse I caused a villaine<sup>6</sup> to ripp a cocadrill, which was of some 2½ yards longe; the same beinge a female, which had in hir paunch above 100 eggs, yealow like youlks of eggs and just of sutch bignes.

<sup>1</sup> El-Matariya, to the north-east of Cairo, on the road to Old Heliopolis. The 'Virgin's Tree,' an ancient sycamore, is still shown. There is a shallow reservoir, fed by springs; and near by is the Jesuit Chapel of the Holy Family. See Hakluyt (vol. v, p. 338, and vol. vi, p. 38); also Sandys, p. 98, and Della Valle, vol. i, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> A kind of salve, much in repute as an antidote to venomous bites or poisons.

<sup>3</sup> In Italian *gatto* is a cat, and *pardo* a leopard. Mr Edward Thompson thinks that Sanderson meant either leopards or cheetahs or spotted lynxes.

<sup>4</sup> So spelt in Purchas. I can make nothing of the term.

<sup>5</sup> Sanderson naturally follows the Italian form (*cocodrillo*). In Purchas the English spelling (crocodiles) is given, and the following is added as a note: 'The land crocodiles are about three quarters of a yard in length, scaly, and of a fiery dragons colour. Some of the Moores doe make purses of their skinnies, after they are dried and rawed.' From this it appears that by 'land' crocodiles he means the Nilotic monitor.

<sup>6</sup> 'A poore fellow, a Christian of Egypt [i.e. a Copt], called Hawat' (note in Purchas). 'Villain,' it will be noted, is used in the old sense of 'peasant.'

Out of the said cocadrill he toke a pece of thicke round skinne about the bignes of a coks stone<sup>1</sup>, [and] wished me to lay the same up untill it was drie; which I did, and the drier it was, the sweeter it savored; no civitt had ever better smell<sup>2</sup>. Sutch, he said, was in all those ould female cocadrills; yet beinge flead [i.e. flayed], the flesh, before it be could, savoreth badlie. More I could say of the beasts and foules of that place; but I will not talke howe they hatch thousands of chickins and sell them by measure<sup>3</sup>; nether of the doves<sup>4</sup> that cary letters frome Alexandria to Cairo; nor of the estredge [i.e. ostrich] henn when she layeth, howe she goeth round twise or thrise, lookinge up into the ayer, and in a moment delivereth hir egge; this I did see<sup>5</sup> in the middest of the Cadilesquiers yeard.

Ther is a place cauled Isbichia<sup>6</sup>, joyning to Cairo, some six or eight akers in bignes, as I take it. It hath in former tim[e]s bine compassed with very faire howses. The yeare that I was ther, at the cuttinge in of Nilus (which was in August 1586) it is overflowen; wherein they fish the first two monethes or more that the water is sinkinge into the ground. Then in the mudd they sowe thier wheat, and reape it at three or four monethes end. Then groweth it with grasse, wherwith they feed thier cattell three monethes. And the last season of the yeare, untill they againe lett in Nilus, they a little laboure it, by reason of makinge channells for the water, and sowe and sett redish, carratts, turneps, lettishe, and sutchlike. They reserve of the water for the last increase in a great well, which is built in the middest of the said place. This should be admirable to sutch as have not seene nor

<sup>1</sup> A stone, the size of a bean, fabled to be found in a cock's gizzard.

<sup>2</sup> The crocodile possesses two pairs of musk-glands, secreting a smeary, strongly scented matter.

<sup>3</sup> 'Though indeed I have beene among the ovens and have seene that manner of hatching' (note in Purchas). An account of this practice of artificial incubation will be found in the description of Cairo given in Hakluyt, vol. v, p. 333; also in Sandys (p. 97), and Della Valle (vol. i, p. 289).

<sup>4</sup> Carrier pigeons. See Della Valle, vol. i, p. 284.

<sup>5</sup> 'And 100 others, Turkes, Moores, Jewes, and Christians. Wee stood a distance off, in a round ring. The estridge in the midst did before us all lay her egg, and did presently rise up and left her egge, which was taken up and presently carried to the Cadylesker and delivered to him in his judgement hall, he sitting on his banke [i.e. bench] of judgement' (note in Purchas).

<sup>6</sup> 'Abbāsīya, to the north-east of Cairo; now a suburb of the city.



heard of the like. Ther is also a greate plaine of sand goinge to the Mataria (this Mataria is the place where Mary and Josiphe kept the child Jesus when Herod sought his life), wherein ar many peces<sup>1</sup> seminge to be of rotton wood, as of wreked shippes or boats, and takinge them up they ar very weyghtie stones: which also is mervailouse<sup>2</sup>.

The 28th of Aprill 1586 I went to see the Peramidis and Momia, beinge of three jentellmen of Jarmani intreated to accompany them. The next day we retourned. Thes Peramidis (one of the Seven Wounders) ar divers, but espetially two, of a like bignes; at the bothome each 1000 paces aboute. One of them open, that in we went with wax candles lighted and up to the topp, wheare standith in a square rome a tombe hewed out of blacke marble or jett, wherein they report that Pharo should have bine buried which pursued the Childerin of Isaraell. It is above a mans length, and uncovered (I say the jett coffin)<sup>3</sup>. The roufe of the said Peramidie is of five stones, 25 foote longe and five foote broad each stone. The stones one the outside ar of admirable greatnes, and impossible to thinke howe they weare caried up so highe. It is also mervailous in the foundation, which ar uppon mightie pillours. They ar well cauled one of the Wounders. Ther is likewise a hudge figure of a head of stone, standinge upright to the necke out of the ground<sup>4</sup>.

The Momia, which is some five or six miles beyound, ar thowsands of imbalmed bodies, which weare buried thousands of years past in a sandie cave, at which ther seemeth to have bine some citie in tim[e]s past. We were lett doune by ropes as into a well, with wax candles burninge in our hands, and so waulked uppon the bodies of all sorts and sised [*read sizes*], great and smaule, and some imbalmed in little earthen potts, which never had forme; thes ar sett at the feet of the great<sup>5</sup> bodies. They gave

<sup>1</sup> 'I brought to Tripoly from Cairo a libbet [i.e. fragment] of about a cubits length for a muster [i.e. specimen], but in time of my sicknesse it was stolne from mee' (note in Purchas).

<sup>2</sup> The reference appears to be to one of the Petrified Forests, probably that known as the Little Petrified Forest; but it is south-east of Cairo, not on the way to El-Matariya.

<sup>3</sup> 'The two Germane gentlemen and myselfe did in sport spread ourselves in that tombe at that time' (note in Purchas).

<sup>4</sup> This is of course the Sphinx.

<sup>5</sup> Purchas has 'greater.'

no noysome smell at all, but ar like pitch, beinge broken; for I broke of[f] all parts of the bodies to see howe the flesh was turned to drugge, and brought home divers heads, hands, arms, and feete for a shewe. We bought allso 600 lb. for the Turkie Company in peces, and brought into Ingland in the Hercules, together with a whole bodie<sup>1</sup>. They ar lapped in 100 doble<sup>2</sup> of cloth, which rotton [rotting ?] and pillinge of[f], you may see the skinne, flesh, fingers, and nayles firme, onelie altered blacke. One little hand I brought into Ingland to shewe, and presented it my brother<sup>3</sup>, who gave the same to a doctor in Oxford.

The 23th of September the Emire Haggi<sup>4</sup>, which is the Capayne of the Caravan, goeth out of Cairo towards Mecca with very great shewe, all the citie comminge out to see him and the ritch coveringe<sup>5</sup>, which is caried with great pompe to cover the sepulcre of Mahemett thier profit; all or most [of] the roges of Cairo, which they caule saints<sup>6</sup>, attendinge it out with great devotion, and some goeth with it to Medina; and they ar the holiest men of all who have bine twice or thrise ther. One *grave* ould man, *who had a long grey beard*, I sawe ledd with great ceremony at that time out of the citie, who had but one eye; and I likewise did see the same man retorne backe againe with the aforesaid Emir, and had left his other eye ther, havinge had it plucked out

<sup>1</sup> 'A whole body, as it was taken up from the other bodies. It is contra-banda to sell of them, but by friendship which William Shales had amongst the Moores (he having their language as perfect as English) with words and money the Moors will be entreated to anything. This body of momia after our arrivall was carried to the house of Sir Edward Osborne in Filpot Lane in London, and there it was with the 600 pounds, till they were sold to the London apothecaries' (note in Purchas). As is well known, 'mummy' was in great demand as a medicine. 'These dead bodies are the mummie which the physitians and apothecaries doe against our willes make us to swallow' (Hakluyt, vol. v, p. 336). Della Valle's account of his visit to the mummy cemetery will be found at p. 230 of his first volume.

<sup>2</sup> Purchas reads 'above an hundred double' (i.e. folds).

<sup>3</sup> 'Doctor Sanderson, Archdeacon of Rochester' (note in Purchas).

<sup>4</sup> The Amir el-Haj.

<sup>5</sup> The *kiswa* or holy carpet, which was regularly sent to spread over the Kaaba at Mecca. For a full account of the caravan see Hakluyt, vol. v, p. 340.

<sup>6</sup> 'These saints in certaine companies doe goe before the vesture in a round ring, leapingly lifting up their legs and wagging up and downe their heads, crying *Holloh* [*Allah*], *Holloh*, *Holloh*, *Holloh*, even till their mouthes bee of a white fome with breathing out only *Holloh*, *Holloh*, *Holloh*, etc. Poul-foole saints' (note in Purchas). 'Poul-foole' seems to mean 'poll-fool,' i.e. foolish in the head.

after he had seene thier profitts sepulcre, because he would see no more sinne. Many of the Turks and Moors, women and other, came about him to bid him welcome, rejoyssinge of his retorne to Cairo; and they who had kissed his hand, arme, or garment thought themselves very happie. Another of thier saints went about the citie continewally starke naked, coveringe nether head, foote, nor any part of his fowle fatt bodie, *no, nor his most filthie foule circumcised member*; yet have I seene divers, as he passed alonge at divers tim[e]s, *yea, women*, kisse his naked arms and hands. One a time at Bullaco, goinge over Nilus, he goinge in a passadge boate in which I with others went over, a Moore in the company, *seeing him come*, layd him a pece of an ould coate to sitt one; but when he felt it under him, [he] laid it aside and satt one the bare bourds; so he ever did one the stones, yearth, and sands. This man was in Cairo before I came thether, and I knowe not howe longe after. *This great fat lubberly beast would goe through the streetes and take off the stalles to eate bread, little baked meates, and fruit and roots, and nobodie denied him, but counted themselves happie that he would so doe. He would not touch money of any sort. A very kinde of scorched bacon hogge hee was, as fat as he could goe. Other of those saints of Cairo goe but halfe naked, and some of them very leane rascals.*

The said caravan, of some 4 or 5,000 cambles, meeteth with the caravans of Damasco, Alepo, and Jerusalem; so that, when they ar all joyned, it is thought they passe above 20,000; but I thinke not so.

The last day of May I parted from Cairo to Bullaco. The 4th of June arived in Rossetto, and the 6th in Alexandr[i]a. Frome thence the 10th of August 1586, beinge Tuesday, we had frayghted with wine, wood, and other provition a barke cauled a jermi<sup>1</sup>, and purposed for Cairo by sea. We sett saile, and came in sight of the ruins of the Mossolia; this was a hudge sepulcre built by a great queene for hir husband, which is held to be one of the Wounders<sup>2</sup>. Then to Bichier [Abukir], wher ar the ruins of a towne, and is at this present a very stronge castell, planted

<sup>1</sup> *Yiirmi* or *yermi*, a boat for 'twenty' passengers.

<sup>2</sup> Probably what Sanderson saw were the remains of the necropolis (of the first Ptolemaic era) on the eastern side of Alexandria. He was of course wrong in identifying these as the mausoleum at Halicarnassus, which was reckoned among the Seven Wonders.

with brasse ordinance. So we arived to the mouth of Rossetto, wher Nilus and the sea meeteth *together and mingleth*, raisinge bankes of sand under water. We missed the chanell and stroke, and broke our barke. We weare mervailouslie saved, houldinge fast by the barks boate, leapinge into the same after a Turke<sup>1</sup> had cutt the ships shrouds; myselfe, my companyon (*William Shales*), our cooke, and the said Turke, with my two rowebucks. Our two janesaries and our other servant (a Christian) swomme to shore. By swimming many [were] saved, and some uppon planks of the shipp and chests; five onelie drowned. Uppon the iland, wett as we weare, we reposed badlie all night. In the morninge came to shore divers of the Turks luggadge, and a sapetta [see p. 27] of mine, wherein was our books and my aparrell, recovered by a Moore, an exellent swimmer. Of our wine we saved (which boyed [i.e. floated] to the shore) some seven butts; all els whatsoever lost. That morninge cam barks out of Rossetto to take in all that was recovered. So to Rossetto we came; howsed our wine, to be sent after us; and up alonge Nilus to Cairo we went, wheare we arived the 18th day.

The 1 of December I departed frome Bullaco, and so uppon an arme of the river to Damiatta, wheare I arived the 3d; recovered the goods that was sent us frome Tripolie; and came thence the 5th day; in my company an Inglishman<sup>2</sup> and my janesary, dragman<sup>3</sup> Jewe, and other attendants. That morninge, comminge alonge by a little iland, we espied eight sea horsses<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> 'That jolly Turke who had saved himself in the boat with us, as we were going up Nilus towards Cairo, talking of the danger which we had escaped, to me he said "*Afferum, afferum, chelîbie*, twas wel done, gentleman, I heard you pray aloud; but you (saith he to William Shales) *oldie*, were halfe dead." "Why," said I, "we did not pray, as you did, to Mahumet, but we p[r]ayed to Christ." "*Gusel, gusel*, wel, wel, twas wel done," saith he, "for every man to pray aloud as (*Holloh*) God hath taught him." This was a wel-mannered, manly, and civil Turke, who tooke our kindnesse (for his passage) thankfully, although he had suffred shipwrack in our company' (note in Purchas). (*Aferin* is 'well done'; *chelebi*, 'Sir'; *öldi*, 'he was dead'; *güzel*, 'very good'; 'Holloh' is for 'Allah'.)

<sup>2</sup> 'William Lawnder, a garbler, who was sent with those goods' (note in Purchas). To garble was to sift or select.

<sup>3</sup> Dragoman or interpreter (Arabic *tarjamān*).

<sup>4</sup> 'Those of Damiatta doe say that these sea horses doe for a season keep thereabouts, and in the night time doe come in and eate of those mouses [*vide infra*], lettice, and other hearbes' (note in Purchas). They were of course hippopotami, which were at one time fairly common in Egypt.

which weare in bignes like great swine, rather bigger, headed like a horsse, onelie thier ears round like a cambles. They arose one by one as we came neare them, and plundged into the water. A Spahie<sup>1</sup> (which is a cavalier Turke) toke his bowe and shotte at them; did hitt one uppon the head, and he snuffeled up out of the water, makinge a great noyes; *but we set eye no more upon them.*

Other at Damiatta wourth the noteinge I remember not. Onelie that ther ar great gardens full of Addams figgs (*some doe so call them*; these ar *also* cauled mouses)<sup>2</sup>. Thier groinge is uppon a great hudge stalke; no wood of bodie, but the frute comminge out emongest the leaves in great bunches, some 18 or 20, more or fewer, one a short stalke. These figgs ar commonlie five or six inches longe, joyninge close to one another in the bunche, and formed like a little cowcomber. When they ar ripe, they ar blackish greene one the outside, and within yealowish mellowe<sup>3</sup>. They eat like a kinde of a ripe melowe peare, but more lussious and a little drier, not so sugary sweete. They pill easilie. The leaves ar of divers lengthes and bignes; the bigger sort longer then a man and about a yeard in breadthe, some lesser, some bigger; this is very trewe. Ther ar about Cairo a kinde of tree cauled Faros figge trees<sup>4</sup>, the hudget sort of all others, yett yeald wourst frute, and woodd wourth nothings, *neither for firing nor other*, to my remembrance, thought [*read though*] some of the trees as bigge and more spreadinge then our English okes<sup>5</sup>; the figgs, frute thereof, very smaule ones and wilde. Every yeare the poore villaines clime the trees and with smaule knives cutt every figge one the topp, I say, a little round pece awaye, when they ar

<sup>1</sup> Turkish (from Persian) *sipāhī* (whence our 'sepoy'), a horse soldier (see Sandys, p. 38).

<sup>2</sup> He is referring to the plantain (Arabic *mauza*), which, according to an Oriental legend, was the fruit eaten by Adam on the occasion of his expulsion from Eden.

<sup>3</sup> 'They are ordinarily sold in Cairo, and we commonly did eat of them, as of other fruit, after or rather toward the end of our meales' (note in Purchas).

<sup>4</sup> Explained in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as 'some species of the genus *Musa*'; but this does not fit Sanderson's description.

<sup>5</sup> 'Wood in Grand Cairo is extraordinary deere; that and the wine we spent stood us in more then all our other expences and house rent and servants wages' (note in Purchas).

grene. So afterward, becomminge ripe, the poore people eate of them. *The Cassia tree is also great and spreading, and very goodly to behold. Those long blacke truncheons* [i.e. stems or branches] *among the greene leaves, aloft the timber, seemes all threddie* [i.e. fibrous], *as it were, and corkie; but they doe lay the logs at length, mingled with stone, for the strengthening of their wals and buildings.* But of all in Egypt the palme tree is to be preferred, which yealdeth dates, *to eate alone and in cheeses, as it were, and a kinde of drinke which they caule sherbett, scaffathes*<sup>1</sup> *of the brainches, stalks, fram[e]s to lay thier bedds uppon and to inclose bailes of spices and other goods instead of chests, serons*<sup>2</sup>, *basketts for many uses, and fannes to coole and to keepe off the flyes and dust, matts, ropes and coards of divers sorts, timber, strawe, and stuble.* The Moors in those orchards of date trees tie a rope aboute the bodye of the tree and thier middle, for it is all body *from the root to the toppe branches, knobbed by the meanes of the yeerely breaking off of the old branches,* except the brainches and frute that springe at the topp. They yearelie go up to prine [i.e. prune] and breake of[f] the outside brainches. The frute, beinge younge, springeth out in a longe codd [i.e. pod], at openinge of which the Moores takes of the male seeds and puts into the females; so it commith to be perfect frute; otherways but of themselves (they say) they yeald but wild dates. This I have bine tould, and I doe beleve it. *I doe beleve also that, as they say, the plague comming into some of their orchards of date trees, that one infects another, and many doe dye of the plague.*

Nilus water I thinke also to be the profitablest and whoulesomest in the wourld, by beinge both bread and drinke to them; for bread ther could be none without it; faulinge no raine in Egypt to that purpose. Yet I have seene it raine ther, but it hath bine very little, *as it were a small showre,* at a time. This river dothe cover the land and fatten it; whereby it fructifieth aboundantlie. It breadeth no manner of disease in the bodie, as divers other waters doe. It hurteth not to drinke therof, ether trobled

<sup>1</sup> This word is probably connected with the Greek σκάφη, meaning a tub, boat, or cradle. It seems to have been applied to a long packing-case, for on f. 319 a is a statement that the 'momia,' the purchase of which is mentioned on p. 45, was in 'two scaffathes, wherof one was a whole man, the rest in peces.'

<sup>2</sup> Hampers or crates (Sp. *serón*).

or cleare; for beinge brought to our houses,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 miles of[f], it commith in warmer then bludd and trobled, seeminge sandie; standinge all night in our jarrs of earth, it is very cleare and cole [i.e. cool] in the morninge, and so contineweth in the house, be the wether never so hott. With heat we weare ther mutch trobled, and alike with flies and dust<sup>1</sup>; for the streets of Cairo ar all unpaved, *except on each side some two or three foot broad before their houses (the middle way about a foot lower then those pavements)*, and the horsses, cambles, asses, mules and men, monsters, and others, make sutch a stirr passinge too and fro that what strainger so ever commith thether in short time will wishe himselfe further of[f]. So mutch by the waye.

Nowe, I say, frome Damiatta I arived again in Cairo the 13th. The 19th I went (beinge invited by the Venis Consull) onse more to the Peramidis; wheare we weare feasted, and retorned home at night. The 20th of March 1586 [i.e. 1587] we sett [out] frome Cairo, beinge three Englishe<sup>2</sup> and our servants (a Jewe, Turke, and Christians); arived in Rossetto the 23th; frayghted a caramisall<sup>3</sup>; the 18th of Aprill 1587 came to Bichier. The 28th I went to Alexandria, to see what newes the shipp Teger had brought, who arived ther two dayes before. Backe to our caramisall I retorned the next day. We sett saile the 7th of May, calmelie coastinge all the Palestine Sea, and arived in Tripolie the 13th, beinge Saterdag<sup>4</sup>.

The shipp Hercules arived in Tripolie the 26th of June 1587.

<sup>1</sup> 'Most part of the yeere at the hottest time wee have a servant, all the while we doe sit at meate, to fan away the flies from the dishes and our trenchers' (note in Purchas).

<sup>2</sup> 'John Sanderson, Will. Shales, Will. Lawnder' (note in Purchas).

<sup>3</sup> A kind of ship, so named from Qara Mursal, a town on the Sea of Marmara, famous for boat building. For a picture of one see the Glasgow reprint of Hakluyt, vol. v, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> 'In Tripoly, standing upon the tarras, John Eldred, W. Shales, Nicholas Salter, Samuel Stone, W. Lawnder, Robert Gald [Gold ?] and others, wee did at two sundry times see two spouts. One of them appeared at first sight little bigger then a great conger, but comming from the cloudes downwards did to our sight appeare watering as through a spout of glasse, and fel with great force upon the sea in the ports before us. The other did so come downe and suckt up the sand on Tripoly banke that to our eyes appeared in the skies a cloud of sand. All the whole time of [the] ships being in the port I had a very great sicknesse, and departed in her for England before I had thorowly recovered. Many deceased at that time in Tripoly, as I have elsewhere at large related' (note in Purchas).

In hir I departed for Inghland the 12th<sup>1</sup> of November, beinge Monday. Three dayes we weare in a great storme and like to have perished in the bay. To Tripolie we came againe one the Friday. Satterday came the Toby of London. Friday the 22th of December we departed from thence, in company with the Toby. We went by Siprus the 24th. The 23th January [1588] we weare ashore at an iland off[f] Candia, cauled Christiana<sup>2</sup>. The 25th we cast ancore at Caldarona. The 11th and 12th of Febrewary we passed betwene Sisilia and Malta. The 13th to Pantalaria. The 14th we weare in sight of Cape Bon one Barbarie sid[e]. The 15th we sawe Goletta, a rocke a little off[f] of Carthadge. The last of Febrewary we arived in Argier [Algiers]. Sett saile from thence the 2d of March. The 6th came in sight of Cape d' Gatt. The 7th at night we passed by Jebberaltare, and so throughe the Streights. Frome Suta [Ceuta] we weare espied, who shott twice. In the morninge we had Cape Spratt [Spartel] about six leagues asterne. The 11th we weare as highe as Cape St. Vincent. The 19th we weare even with Cape Fenister; frome thence caped [i.e. bore] NNW. The 22th, beinge Friday, we came to the soundinges; threwe the lead at night, and found 92 fathome. Then we caped NE. and by E. The next day in the morninge we found 70 fathom, and at none [i.e. noon] 55. The next day we fell with Portland<sup>3</sup>, which was the first of Inghland we had sight of. Then to the Downes, and so to Gravesend; frome thence in a wherry to Blackewale; so by land to London, the 29th of March 1588.

#### ANOTHER ACCOUNT (*f.* 222 *b*)

Memorandum that the 9th day of October 1584, being Friday, we sett frome Gravesend in the Merchaunt Royall. In Febrewary we arived in the Moriah, and ther toke shippinge in the Charitie, and the 9th of March arived in Constantinople. Frome thence I departed the 9th of October 1585, and arived in Alexandria the 2 day of November. Thence the 19th, and came to Cairo the 29th of the same.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently an error for '13th.' The 12th was a Sunday. On p. 53 the date is given as the 11th. <sup>2</sup> To the south-west of the island of Santorin.

<sup>3</sup> 'Where we found such a fall [ebb tide ?] that staggered the mariners, master and all' (note in Purchas).



The 25th of Febrewary the son of the Bassa was sent to the port with the casenda<sup>1</sup> of the Gran Signor; the treasure caried uppon mules. Of them weare thirty. Every on[e] his load was two chests; every chest conteyned 10,000 ducketts of gould; which is 600,000 d[uca]ts, the rente of Cairo.

The 10th of August 1586, beinge Tuesday, at the mouth of Rossetto, wher Nilus and the sea meteth, our jermi stroke uppon the sand and imediately broke in peces; we meracoluslie saved, beinge driven uppon an iland hard by; others saved by swimming; four or five drowned; one the next day brought to shore, but died. We lost onely a little stuffe, wine, and wood, to the value of 150 d[uca]ts. To Cairo we came the 18th dicto.

The 23th of September the Emir Hagge departed towards the Mecca, accompanienge the vesture of thier Profitts tombe which every yeare about the said time is sent frome thence by the Bassa. The caravan departed 8 or 10 dayes after and mett 7 or 8 miles out of the cite.

The 9th of June 1586 a Venetian shipp cauled Galion Bon brake uppon the port of Alexandria. Hir freight was to the valewe of 80 or 90,000 d[uca]ts. Three men lost; some of the cloth recoverd.

The 10th dicto a Cuftie [i.e. Copt], which was master of the mint, was wounded at midday in the streets with a poysoned knife and died the 13th, notwithstandinge that he road with two janesaries before him.

The 11th detto a barke uppon Nilus was taken by 30 Arabs; eight Turks therin killed; four Jues spoyled of there goods but left alive. The first of October a barke going doune towards Rossetto was overternd with the force of the streame; all goods lost; 20 Turks drowned and five Jewes; the rest saved by swimming.

The 28th April 1586 I went to see the Momia and Peramidis, in company of three Jarman gentlemen, one of the Empirors privie chamber.

In Cairo ar assistant uppon the bench 32 begs; thier pay 200,000 aspers. The Bassas paie, 1000 d[uca]ts (1 M).

<sup>1</sup> Evidently a caravan conveying the revenue remittance. The word seems to be an Italianized form of *khazina* (treasure).

The 5th of December 1586 I, goinge frome Damiatta, did see eight seahorsses. The 19th I went againe to the Peramidies, beinge invited by the Venetian Consull.

The Bassa of Cairo bastinadoed uppon the kneepanns an auntient merchant of Genua, to make him confesse that his goods was the goods of a Siot deceased, whome he affermed to be the Gran Signors subject. The ould man receaved 15 blowes, and kept his bed 10 dayes after. The Bassa had of the factors [of the] deceased 7,000 ducketts, which he said he toke for the Kinges due, the man dead beinge borne in Sio and therfore carigar<sup>1</sup>; which beinge by thier lawe desided in divan<sup>2</sup> and proved contrary, yet in publique vewe he rendered the goods, being but to the valew of 400 d[uca]ts, and the rest the said Bassa eate uppon [i.e. extorted from] the poore Christian merchant, or rather of those merchants for whome he was factor.

The 13th of January entered a caravan frome Zues; brought of peper 2000 quintalls at the least, with much other spices. The 19 and 20th entred the caffie [caravan: *qāfila*] of the Mecca, which is thought at the least to bringe of peper 5 or 6,000 quintalls, with much other, indico etc.

*The quintall  
of Cairo is  
200li. at  
least.*

The 26th of Aprill 1587 arived the Teger in Alexandria (Rickman master). The 18th Aprill we did first arive in Abochier; thence I went to Alexandria at the shippes arivall, and so backe againe to our caramisall. Sett saile the 7th of May; arived in Tripolie Sirria the 13th detto, beinge Satterday. The Hercules came into port the 26th of June.

I fell sicke the 20th of July; kept my bed six weeks; eight weeks after I laid by my staffe. In time of my sicknes five Englishmen died, and above 50 weare sicke of the badd aire.

The 11th of November we putt to sea with the Hercules<sup>3</sup>; went out, and almost weare imbaid; lost our boate and put in againe, after a great and unexpected deliverance. Nowe the Toby came; and we came both in company for Ingland, setting

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a *lingua franca* term for one who paid the *kharāj*, the poll-tax levied on non-Moslem subjects.

<sup>2</sup> *Divān*, council, or legal tribunal. The term was also used for the room in which either body met.

<sup>3</sup> 'We were divers passingers, as Eldrid, Bate, Baxter, Gould, Shales, Denis, etc.' (f. 319 a).

saille the 22th of December, beinge Friday. In London the 29th March 1588.

#### HIS JOURNEY TO HOLLAND, 1588 (*f. 135 a*)

The 4th of June [1588], beinge Satterday, I departed frome London, in company of Deputie Egerton and others. Sonday we passed frome Gravesend in a Hambroughe barke frayghted by the Lady Drury, who in the same was bound over with hir two daughters and divers attendants to Sir W[illia]m, Governore of Bargaen up Zoan. Sir Henry Palmer<sup>1</sup>, in a shipp of the Queens, garded the barke to Flusshinge, wheare we arived uppon Monday. To Middleborowe I, with the Deputie and others, went presentlie; and two dayes after had a court cauled one purpose to make free myselfe and my companion, Thomas Calthorp. Uppon Thursday we departed thence and came to Flushing; went about a smaule barke that eveninge, and in the morninge weare at Sandwidge. Lodged at Knowlton<sup>2</sup>, Master Calthorp beinge sicke; yet departed in the morninge, and weare in London one Satterday night. Thus weare we eight dayes one this voyadge; and eight dayes after Thomas Calthorp departed this life.

#### HIS VOYAGE FOR THE EAST INDIES, 1590-91 (*f. 135 a*)

In September 1590 we sett saile in the Samaritan of Dartmouth, bound for the East India, victualled for 13 monethes at the least, and well manned; John Davis captayne and pilate; Edward Rieve master<sup>3</sup>. About the Mederes [Madeira] we weare overtaken with a great storme, in which extremitie we lost our pinas consort, but afterward mett with an English shipp who had saved our men. We had before that storme bine in divers fights

<sup>1</sup> A well-known naval commander of the time, who shortly afterwards took part in the defeat of the Armada.

<sup>2</sup> A village about six miles west of Deal. Sir Thomas Peyton, brother-in-law of Thomas Calthorpe, resided there (see p. 7), and doubtless the travellers put up at his house.

<sup>3</sup> 'A little rich Reve, Dier, and others of Dartmouth were owners; victualers and voluntaries were Randall Cotton, Jo. Arundell, Thomas Moore, Edward Rivers, I myselfe, and others; who all came home by crosse and losse, for which our God Almightyes mercies His holy name be ever magnified' (note in Purchas).

with Spaniards, and braved by a cople of French at unwares. In that voyadge, of 105 men and boyes we lost onelie one. A very hott fight we had with an armado [i.e. warship] of Spaine. She gave us 17 great shott overnight, and in the morninge fought some four or five howers. She shott downe our topmast and throughe our shipp and sailes above 40 times; yet no hurt to any of us in person, except a poore felowe which was touchted one the legge with a great stone shott; which shott rested in the shipp. The next day an ill surgion cutt off[f] the legge above the knee; in which torment of cuttinge, sawinge, and searinge the poore wretch died in his arms. This jolly Spaniard left us; for yf he had durst, he might have laid us abourd. With this fight, and the extreame storme we had before passed, our Samaritan was so crasie and leake that all in generall toke our turns at the pumpe [and] made 4 or 500 strokes in a glasse *for many dayes and nights together*. With the said water we watered our fishe<sup>1</sup>. So weare we forced to retorne for England, wheare at Famouth we arived in Febrewary. So to Dartmouth. In that voyadge we went ashore onely at Safia, Santa Crus, and the Mederes<sup>2</sup>, as I remember.

HIS SECOND VISIT TO THE LEVANT, 1591-98 (*f. 135a*)

The 13th<sup>3</sup> of September 1591 I went out in the Toby<sup>4</sup>. The first of October to Tilbury. The 2 to Lee [Leigh]. The 4th to Gorend [Gore End]. We departed thence the 8th, and arived in Dartmouth Monday the 11th. Frome thence we sett saile the 16, beinge Saterday. The last of October we arived at the Streygths mouth<sup>5</sup>. The 11th of November we entered the Streygths. The

<sup>1</sup> This suggests that, finding it impossible to carry out the object of their voyage, they had set to work to procure a cargo, or part cargo, of fish, for which there was always a market in England.

<sup>2</sup> Saffi, on the west coast of Morocco, Santa Cruz (Tenerife) in the Canary Islands, and Madeira.

<sup>3</sup> Thus twice in the MS. (*ff. 135 a and 106 b*) and also in Purchas's version (vol. II, p. 1619). There is, however, at *f. 387 b* of the MS. a brief summary of the voyage, in which its commencement is given as 23 September; and this seems more likely, in view of the date of the move to Tilbury.

<sup>4</sup> 'A strong and good old ship' (note in Purchas).

<sup>5</sup> 'Off and on eleven dayes at the mouth of the Streights of Giberaltar before wee could enter. The next yeere after, a younger master, making more speed, imbayed the ship and broke her, and drowned himselfe with griefe and anger' (note in Purchas).

13th and 14th we sawe Grand Maliga, Velis Malaga, Salabrina, Cape Negro<sup>1</sup>. The 25th we came in sight of Maritima; the next day of Cisilia and Malta. The 20th of December we arived in Sefalania; ther remained six dayes, and came to Zant the 30th. The 1 of January [1592] we weare at Petras in the Morea. Thence the Toby went the 13th to Zant for hir ladeinge. Thursday, the 24th of Febrewary, by land we departed Petrassé. That night to Postigia [Vostitza]. Sunday, Vasiligo and Corinth<sup>2</sup>. Tusday at a casall<sup>3</sup>, and so to Thebes, which they nowe caule Tiva. Ther growe abondance of aniseeds. It hath a most dilectable citation. So doth Corinth stand most gloryouslie; wheare we aboad two dayes. We also weare in sight of Athins. Then we came to Negroponto, where we frayghted a little Turkish vessell, imbarcked ourselves and goods<sup>4</sup>, and one [i.e. on] Friday departed for Constantinople. Sayled by Masidon, but had no sight of the citie Thesalonica; it is up in the gulfe, [and] nowe cauled Salanico. It was the chefe citie of Masidonian Phillipe, father of Great Alexander. Then we passed divers ilands in the Arches [i.e.

<sup>1</sup> Sixteen miles S. by E. of Ceuta.

<sup>2</sup> 'Where we lodged three nights by reason of some misrule committed going betweene Vasiligo and that place, by Jeffer our chaous, R. Gold, the consul, and Will Aldridge. I went before with the goods for feare of the worst, and was in Corinth five houres before they came. Robert Gold came first into the carvasera [i.e. caravanserai] with his giamberlake [shirt: *gömlük*] all to beeslashed. Then in came the chaouse, cut in the arme, a deepe wound, and Will Aldridge with his forehead wounded; which in the said William was dressed for the present by a surgeon of Corinth. So, with some satisfaction to the Cadie, we were permitted to passe on our voyage' (note in Purchas).

<sup>3</sup> Italian *casale*, a hamlet or village. Here, and elsewhere in the volume, it seems to be used for a caravanserai.

<sup>4</sup> 'Consul R. Gold, W. Aldridge, Joh. Sanderson, our goods, our chaouse, two other servants (Turkes), and two or three Christians (Greekes), our attendants. Memorandum: that many Englishmen, old and young, have in my remembrance turned Turkes, as Benjamin Bishop, George Butler, John Ambrose, and others; but to turne Greeke I never heard of any except that consul at Petras; who did cause the Greeke priests newly to baptize him; which they performed, and did name him John Gold. Being at the very instant demanded (by an honest Englishman) his meaning, his answere was that, as he had lived in credit amongst those Greekes, so his purpose was to be carried to his grave with credit. A very notable whoremaster, one of the cutters of the cabina in Turkie' (note in Purchas). The last phrase is explained by Biddulph (p. 81) as meaning the temporary marriages often entered into by foreign traders—'to cut cabine, as they call it' (see also Knolles, vol. II, pt. II, p. 74). Mr Ellis suggests that the phrase represents the Turkish *ketqādn*, a form of *ketkhudā qādn*, meaning a 'house mistress.'

Archipelago], as Taradano [Tenedos ?] and others; weare ashore at Troy; passed two great castells, cauled the Dardillie [Dardanelli in *Purchas*]; and came to Galipoli the 7th of March.

Uppon Palme Sonday [12 March] we arived in Constantinople, wher then I remained six or seven years. In which time I had the wewe [i.e. view] of many animalls, as olifants, tame lions, tame spotted cattis as bigge as little masties [i.e. mastiffs], great and smaule deere, rowebucks tame (but thes ar brought out of Egypt). The admirablest and fairest beast that ever I sawe was a jarraff, as tame as a domesticale deere *and of a reddish deere colour, whitebreasted and clovenfooted*. He was of a very great hieth; his foreleggs longer then the hinder; a very longe necke; and headed like a cambel, except two stumps of horne one his head. This fairest anymale was sent out of Ethiopia to this Great Turks father for a present. To Turks the keeper of him<sup>1</sup> would make him kneele, but not before any Christian for any mony. An olifant, that stoad wheare this faire beast was, the kepers would make to stand with all his four leggs (his feete close together) uppon a round stone; and alike to us to bend his foreleggs.

Many thinges passed also wourth the noteinge; as the deposeinge and placeinge great rulers, [and] the contention of the soldiers many tim[e]s. Onse for thier pay the Spahies demaunded, in time of Sultan Moratt; who, not beinge answered as they desiered, made an uprore in the court, that the viseroyes weare glad to hide themselves in the Turks lodgings for feare of thier lives, and most of the houshold servants of the meaner sort came out with spitts, tonges, and other kitchen tooles to end the fray; who cleared the Seraglio of the Spahies. At that broyle was slaine of all sorts some 200 or more<sup>2</sup>. Not longe before, they had the Beglerbeyes<sup>3</sup> head (whome the Great Turke espetially loved) geven them, which they spurned about the court. Other straing

<sup>1</sup> Purchas reads (wrongly) 'two Turks, the keepers of him.' For an account of the menagerie see Mundy (vol. I, p. 28). Moryson mentions (pt. i, p. 263) the elephant and the giraffe.

<sup>2</sup> 'This was at my being there in M[aster] Harbornes time, before I was sent to Cairo' (note in Purchas). A similar incident took place in 1593 (Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 573).

<sup>3</sup> *Beylerbey*, i.e. lord of lords, the title of a general of feudal cavalry or of a governor of a province or group of provinces.

acctions I could speake of, and of thier cruellties, but I am loth to weary you with many particulers. Onelie the cruelltie of that governement may be marked in this; for at this Great Turke his takinge pcession of the empier was stranged all his living bretherin, which weare in number 19<sup>1</sup>. They ar brought one by one before him, and he seeth them both alive and dead. I did see them caried to buriall the next day after thier dead father<sup>2</sup>. That Great Turke, Sultan Moratt, left also five wommen with child, two of which brought sonns, who also at thier birth weare deprived of life; the daughters all live. It was credeblic reported that he had buried 30 childerin in his lifetime and had at his death 27 daughters livinge; so apeareth he was father of 81 childerin.

The newe kinge, Sultan Mahemett, went to the warrs in Hungary against the Christian Empiror the first yeare of his rayne. Our ambassiator, wourthy Edward Barton, attended him (*with also an ancient Greeke, a Galatean called Signior Matteo, who had many yeeres beene servant and chiefe interpreter for the Emperours ambassadours*); to whome<sup>3</sup> the Great Turke had before his goinge presented 22 Christians, which had laine in prison in

<sup>1</sup> 'Tusday, the 7th January 1594 [1595], Sultan Murat died. His son, Sultan Mahemet, arived her[e] the 17th, beinge Friday. The sam day, after his 19 bretheren wer strangled, his father was buried. Saterday, the 19 wear buried by ther father. Monday after, Sigalogli, the admiral [was] mansuld [i.e. dismissed (*ma'zûl*)]. Halull [Khalil] Bassa toke his place; this vizroy is husband to the deceased empirors daughter' (note by Sanderson on f. 387 b). As regards the strangling of the new Sultan's brothers a letter from the Venetian ambassador (*Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. ix, no. 328) records that 'they say that the eldest, a most beautiful lad and of excellent parts, beloved by all, when he kissed the Sultan's hand, exclaimed: "My lord and brother, now to me as my father, let not my days be ended thus in this my tender age"; the Sultan tore his beard with every sign of grief, but answered never a word. They were all strangled, all the nineteen; and that same day, late in the evening, the dead Sultan was carried to the tomb, with less pomp than usually accompanies persons of even low degree.'

<sup>2</sup> 'One Master Winckfield, an ancient English gentleman, being then in my company, with others' (note in Purchas). The arrival of Henry Wingfield, with the Queen's licence to travel to Constantinople, is mentioned by Barton in a letter to Cecil of 12 Aug. 1595 (P.R.O.: *S.P., Turkey*, vol. III); and Sanderson notes (f. 392 a) that he carried home the ambassador's letter of 9 Nov. 1595. He adds that Wingfield 'also caried frome hence a hauke upon his fist into Ingland; I presented him a sapeta, etc.; he yet oweth me, for a peece of grogeraine chamblett, 4*li.* sterling per agreement.'

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Barton (see his letters, *infra*).



AMURATH, III.

*Sixth Emperor of  
The Turks.*

*A. 1572.*

SULTAN MURAD III.





Constantinople three years. They weare the late ambass[ia]tors household who had bine resident ther for the Christian Empiror when the peace was broken. The Great Turke also gave commaundement that throughe his contry thier chargis should be defrayed, and alike alowed four couthes [i.e. coaches] and a chaouse to conduct them to the Empirors court. The chefest cause of our ambassitor his accompanieng the Great Turke was to have concluded a peace betwext those two great potentates, as formerlie he had done betw[e]ne the Poles and the Great Turke deceased; which had bine most easelie performed, had it pleased Hir Exelent Magistie [so] to have commanded. The ambassators absence was six monthes, frome July to January, which space I remained his deputie in Constantinople. *After the ambassadour was fully resolved to goe with the Grand Signior, some few dayes before his departure hee went with me, John Sanderson, to Hassan Basha, eunuch<sup>1</sup>, who governed the citie of Constantinople in the Great Turkes absence. And taking his leave of the sayd Hassan Bassa, Vice-roy, hee recommended mee unto him as his deputie, praying him so to respect me in his absence. The Vizier promised all kinde respect and regard of mee, saying: Volo, volo, hosh gedit (welcome, welcome), hosh geldie (I will, I will) Elchee (ambassiater)<sup>2</sup>; and so I kist his hand, and then the ambassadour kist his hand, and wee departed his presence.*

When the Great Turke went out of the citie towards the warrs it was with wounderfull great solemnitie and noteable order, to[o] longe to discribe particu[l]erlie. But I remember a great number of doggs ledd after [*Purchas reads 'afore'*] him, well manned and in thier best aparrell<sup>3</sup>; his haukes by horsmen caried in great number; tame lions and olifants, with other beasts of many sorts; but espetially the jarraff before spoken of, beinge prince of all the beasts, was ledd by three chaines of three sondry men stalkinge before him. For it is the custome that, the Great

<sup>1</sup> This Hasan Pasha was afterwards (Nov. 1597) made Grand Vizier, but was dismissed and strangled in the following April (Von Hammer, vol. II, pp. 625, 626, and *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. IX, nos. 636, 678, 680). For an interesting account by Lello of him and other prominent Turkish politicians of the time see Brit. Mus. *Nero B xi*, ff. 155, 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Wallah! Wallah! Hosh geldin, Elchi*, i.e. 'By God! By God! You are welcome, Ambassador.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Cloth of gold, velvet, scarlet and purple cloth' (note in Purchas).

Turke in person goinge one warefare, most or all in generall the cheefe men and beasts attend him out of the citie. And at his retorne it is lawefull for all thier women, both smaule and great, to mete him without the waules; at other tim[e]s the women of any accompt or creditt never come in multitudes emongest the men. By a letter dated in October 1596 the ambass[ia]t[or] advised me of all passed that imported the takinge of the citie Egria<sup>1</sup> and after overthrowe of the Christians campe; copie of which letter I sent for England to the Right Honorable Hir Magesties cheefe secretary, *Sir Robert Cecill*. The Turke retorned with great triumph; entered at Andranopole Gate; three or four miles without which gate, and so alonge within the citie to the gate of the Seraglio, which is at least four or five miles further, all one both sides the waye as he should passe throughe, the people his subjects, Turks, Jewes, and Christians, held in length whole peces of cloth of Gould, velvett, sattin, and dammaske of all sorts and colloures; and for three dayes together feasted, kepeinge open shoppes and howses day and night, in joy of his victoryes and safe retorne<sup>2</sup>. *Two or three miles before his entrance I did meete our ambassadour with a fresh horse and about twelve or thirteene attendants. The ambassadour (by Ebrehim Bassa<sup>3</sup> the Vice-royes appointment) did stay in the way to take his leave of the Grand Signior, which was thus performed. Sultan Mahomet made a stand with his horse, and upon horsebacke hee and the ambassadour saluted. Hee sate still; our ambassadour did alight and kist his hand; then got upon his horse. Hee saluted; the Great Turke re-saluted him, saluted me also and all our ambassadours trayne, and so turned his horse. And over the fields we came to the Vines of Pera<sup>4</sup>, before he was come into Constantinople.*

For the whole full and fine discourse of the citie Constantinople

<sup>1</sup> Eger (Erlau), about 70 miles north-east of Buda-Pest. Barton's letter is printed by Purchas (vol. II, p. 1348), and Sanderson's is given below (under date of 13 November, 1596).

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the Sultan's triumphant entry see Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 620.

<sup>3</sup> For İbrâhîm Pasha see a note on p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Pera, as the foreign quarter of the capital, would naturally have vineyards, since the manufacture of wine (forbidden to Muhammadans) was allowed to Christians by the capitulations. No clear distinction seems to have been drawn between Galata and Pera, for on f. 49 b the two are treated as identical.

I referr to a little pamphlett that was presented me by a doctor Jewe poet; which said discourse he gave me in Italian. I immediatelie translated the same into Inglish, the 17th and 18th of August 1594. I gave it at that time, both in Italian and Inglish, to a frend, *Master Edward Rivers*; since which the coppies have bine disperced, and it may be some fantastically will attribute it unto himselfe, both author and translater. For five years past one in Ingland requiered it of me, but I had left the copie emongest my papers at Constantinople, wheare at my last beinge I found that scribled originall in Inglish. But the Italian was common emongest them. It hath beginninge one this manner: 'Pausania, a captaine of the Lasidemonians' etc. I have written it againe in the end of this discourse; and alike foloweth a trewe note of my three moneths travaile frome Constantinople to the Holie Land and backe againe to Tripoli (Sirria) over the hiest mount of Libanon.

Many wourthy thinges passed in that my longe aboad at Constantinople. Emongest other I note the extraordinary esteme [that] was had of the ambassiatour aforenamed with them all in generall, both Christians, Turks, and Jewes. By meanes chefelie of the Turks mother[s] favoure and some mony, he made and displaced both princes and patriarks, befrended viseroys, and preferred the sutes of cadies (who ar thier chefe preests and spirituall justisies). *The Hoggie<sup>1</sup>, a very comely, grave, and wise Turke, who was Sultan Mahomets schoolemaster (and I may well say counsellor), was a very true friend and an assister of Master Barton in all his businesse with the Grand Signior; and had<sup>2</sup> a Catholike Roman Christian corrupter about him, a consull, by name Paulo Mariani, who was hanged by the necke in his consuls robes at Grand Cairo, under the chiefe gate of the citie; upon whom the Moores in the morning had great pitie. For Monsieur de Brevis<sup>3</sup>, the French ambassadour, had procured the execution to bee performed in the night, to prevent [i.e. forestall] the Moores, who ever*

<sup>1</sup> This was the famous historian Khoja Efendi Sa'd al-Dīn, who held the post of imperial tutor (*khoja-i sultānī*) to both Murād III and Mehmet III. For an account of his career see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.n. Von Hammer (vol. II, pp. 514, 544) notes the assistance given by him to the English.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning that Barton had (see p. 13).

<sup>3</sup> François Savary de Brèves. For Mariani's death see p. 13.

*favoured Mallem<sup>1</sup> Paulo (Master Paul), as they commonly called him.*

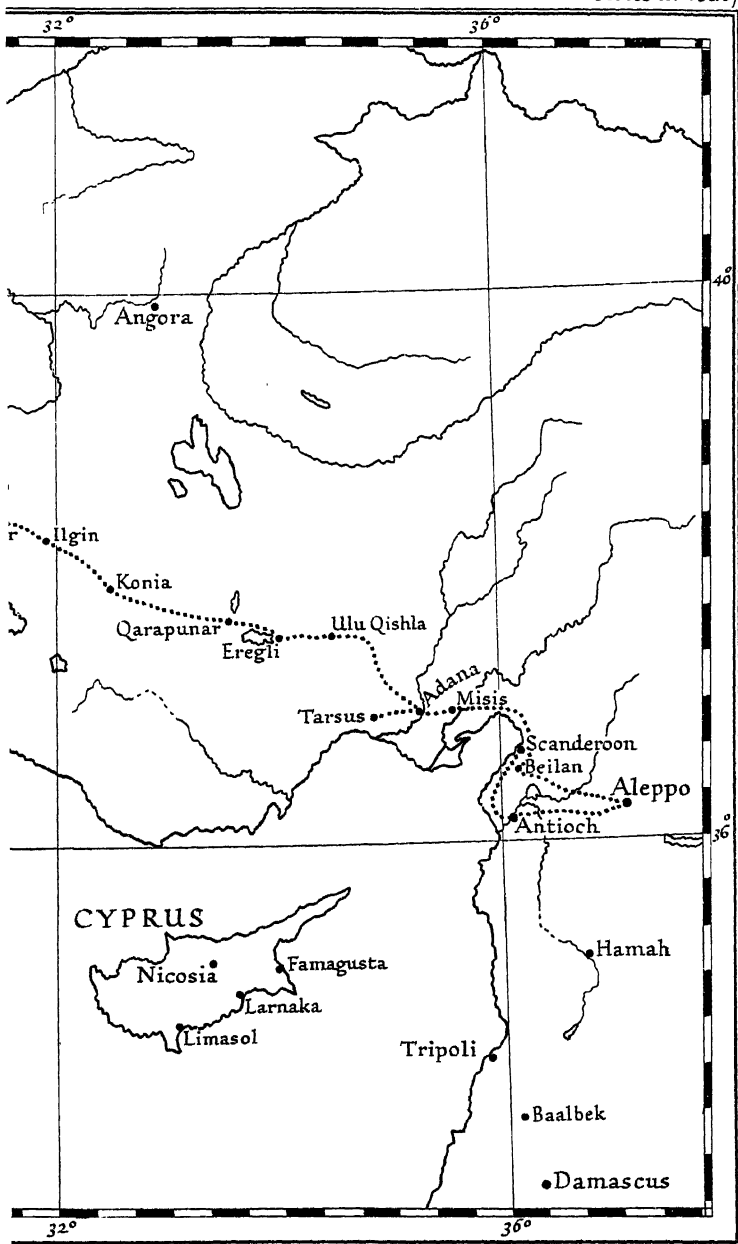
Frome Const[antino]ple I departed the 23th of September 1597, havinge in my time ther remaining bine at divers notoriousse places within the citie and one all the confines of the same; as when I accompanied the ambass[iat]or towards the warrs [and] ridd one the waye with him some 30 or 40 miles. And alike was often at the Blacke Sea, which is 18 or 20 miles off[f]. At the enterance of the said sea ar remaininge ruins of the ould castells Sestus and Abidus; *but the schollers of our age affirme those neere Troy ruines [see p. 38] to bee they, time having eaten out the ruines, and so the true remembrance of the other too at the very mouth of the Blacke Sea; though I was shewed a marke of a peece of a rocke upon Asia side, where the lover was drowned in swimming from Europe side to his beloved; and then, I say, in anno 1585 was there to bee seene on each side some very old appearance of castles foundation walls, though in a kinde as it were covered with earth and grasse,* which remembereth unto us the story of Hero and Leander. And other two great castells at halfwaye, one esteemed the chefe prison in Turkie except the Seven Towers within the citie waule. I was also at Calcos [i.e. Halki] Ile and other ilands therabout. And alike divers tim[e]s we went over into Asia to Calsidon, etc.

At Calsidon (nowe cauled Scutary) myselfe and attendants, beinge five, well horssed and a sompter horsse; ther we remaned two dayes. At Curtall [Kartal] one; Gebes [Gebze] one; Dil [Dil<sup>2</sup>] one; Giourkie [Kurd Keui] one; Isnike [Isnik] two; Gini Shar [Yenishehr] two; Auc Biuke [Aq Buk] one; Bosuke [Boz Yok] one; Eschi Sheer [Eskishehr] one; Sidie Battal [Sidi el Batal] one<sup>3</sup>; Baiat [Bayat] one; Bulvadin [Bulvadin] two; Auke Shar [Aqshehr] five; Ilgin [Ilghin] two; Guarchi one; Casall [a caravanserai] one. [At ?] Conia [Konia] (Iconiam, wheare Barnabas and Paule preached) I remained two dayes. Simell [Ismil] one; Caribonar [Qarapunar] one; Regli [Eregli] one; Uluckislia [Ulu Qishla] one; Cadengighan one; Sareshik

<sup>1</sup> See note on letter of 23 June, 1596 (*infra*, p. 147).

<sup>2</sup> Here he no doubt crossed the Gulf by the ferry to Hersek.

<sup>3</sup> The route is given again at f. 401 b, and that list interpolates here 'Bardachi [Bardakchi] one,' making up the number of days to 44, as given above.





[Zawerjik] one; Casale de Turkie [a caravanserai] one; Adina [Adana] two; Missis [Misis], Tharso [Tarsus] one (where Paule was boarne)<sup>1</sup>; Court Colacke [Kurt Kulak] one; Bellan [Beilān ?] one; Curdi Casall [a caravanserai] one; Juni one; to Alepo<sup>2</sup> one. Dayes 44, in company of Court Vizier, who went to governe in Alepo, where I remained some three monethes.

The 11th<sup>3</sup> of Febrewary [1598] we weare in Antiochia, wher we beheld an admirable waule edginge up uppon the mountayne, having very many terretts, some say as many as ther ar dayes in the yeare. The river Orantes is at the bothome of this hill, and runneth close alonge the nether part of the citie waule. Enteringe in at one of the bye gates ther is a place of exelent springe water, where many weare baptised that became Christians at the Apostles preaching<sup>4</sup>.

The 14th we came to Alexandretta. Ther ar the ruins of an ould citie built by Great Alexander; the Turks caule it Scandaron. The 23th we departed thence in a great Venetian shipp cauled Navi Ragazona, and arived in Siprus the 26th of the said Febrewary. At my beinge in Siprus I went to the chefe cities: Nicosia, which is in the middest of the iland, and Famagusta, a very stronge citie and port for thier gallies. Before a towne cauled Larnica we road with our shipp at the Salinos<sup>5</sup>; ther is the church that Lasarus built<sup>6</sup>, and likewise the Greeks say that the mother of Constantine lieth buried in a mountayne in that iland, which is cauled Sancta Elena<sup>7</sup>. The 10th of Aprill 1598 we sett [sail] frome Siprus in the said shipp, and arived in Venis the 22th of the same.

<sup>1</sup> On f. 401 *b* we find 'Tharso' interpolated between 'Adina' and 'Missis.' Evidently Sanderson made an excursion from Adana to Tarsus before going on from the former place to Misis.

<sup>2</sup> He reached Aleppo on 6 November, 1597 (f. 401 *b*).

<sup>3</sup> According to f. 401 *b* the date was Sunday, 12 February. The same date is given on f. 106 *b*.

<sup>4</sup> 'There at that place some affirme that the three thousand also at Peters sermon were converted and christened in that spring water' (note in Purchas).

<sup>5</sup> 'Where they make great store of salt (fine, white salt)' (note in Purchas). This suburb of Larnaka is called by the Italians the Marina.

<sup>6</sup> The Greek church of St Lazarus is still shown. His body is said to have been conveyed to Venice.

<sup>7</sup> Mount Santa Croce, not far from Larnaka, is so called from a tradition that the Empress Helena caused a chapel to be built there and in it placed a fragment of the cross.



The 24th of May I departed from Venis to Travisa [Treviso], Castell Franco [Castelfranco Veneto], Sismon [Cismon], Grinio [Grigno], Lievico [Levico], Trent [Trient], Alavis [Lavis], Enia [Egna (i.e. Neumarkt)], Boldan [Botzen], Clusa [Klausen], Moals [Mauls], Luke<sup>1</sup> Esbruke [Innsbruck], Sefield [Seefeld], Pata kerke [Partenkirchen], Amberga [Ammergau], Sanga [Schongau], Lansberge [Landsberg], Augusta (nowe cauled Osburge [Augsburg]), Danower [Donauwörth], Fetlinge [Weiltingen], Dinkhelspill [Dinkelsbühl], Perte, Herbtshowson [Herbsthausen], Martigall [Mergentheim ?], Pissiche [Tauberbischofsheim ?], Miltiburgh [Miltensburg], river of Maine [Main], Valstat [Wallstadt], Ostum [Ostheim], Pobohousen [Babenhausen], Franckford [Frankfurt], Mens [Mainz], Elfin (an almeshouse), Ervels [Eltville], Mistorne<sup>2</sup> (a little castell uppon a rocke, wheare at this day they report that the Bishopp of Mens was devoured of ratts for houlding up coarne when the poore sterved for waunt therof), Snikwere<sup>3</sup>, Gesiman [Geisenheim], Rodersen [Rüdesheim], Bubard [Boppard], Andernough [Andernach], Bon [Bonn], Cullen [Cologne] (the 13th of June; in thier chefe church they reserve [i.e. preserve] a monument of the Three Kinges<sup>4</sup> so mutch talked one), Sons [Zons], Nues [Neus], Druselthorp [Düsseldorf], Keserswert [Kaiserwerth], Ruerwert [Ruhrtort], Berk [Beck], Wesell [Wesel], Emrik [Emmerich], Skinks Sconce [Schenkenschantz], Nemingham [Nymeguen], Tele [Tiel], Wercan, Kercam [Gorkum], Dort [Dordrecht], Viana [Fignaart ?], Camfire [Campthout ?], Middleborow [Middelburg], Flushing. The 28th frome thence imbarcked in a man of warr, a Flushing, who sett us ashore in the Downes the 29th of June. The same day arived in England, and so frome Sandwidge to London by land<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Sanderson originally wrote 'Inke,' but copied it incorrectly. Purchas, however, prints 'Luke es Bruke.'

<sup>2</sup> The Mäuseturm, where, according to the legend, Archbishop Hatto II of Mainz was devoured by vermin. <sup>3</sup> 'Skinkwere' on f. 106 b.

<sup>4</sup> 'There they are within a double grate beyond the quier behind a battlement; where also I did see the picture of Christ, drawne naked, stripped so artificially and just the bignesse of a man, that it made mee to weepe. Our Lady was more lower in the church, an image in a blacke sattin gowne' (note in Purchas).

<sup>5</sup> According to f. 401 b he reached London on 2 July. All these dates are Old Style.

# A DESCRIPTION OF CONSTANTINOPLE

(f. 131 a)

*A discourse of the most noteable thinges of the famous citie  
Constantinople, bothe in auncient and late time[s]<sup>1</sup>.*

Pausania, a captayne of the Lacedimonians, waunderinge through the wourld with his people, seekinge wheare he might settle himselfe, of the oracle of Appollo in Delfos it was answered that they should make thier aboad over against the blind; understandinge therby the Magaresi<sup>2</sup>, who had not the foresight to take so faire a cituation as they had in Europe, firtill and good, but built in Asia Calsidonia, that nowe is cauled Scutary. Heare then stayed Pausania with his Lacedemonians<sup>3</sup> 663 years before the comminge of Christ (Tullio Hostilio remaineing in Rome); buildinge at that time a little citie, which he named Bizantio; whether it weare (as some say) for the two seas it hath, or (accordinge to others) of a captaine so named<sup>4</sup>. In the beginninge this was a very smaule thinge, as others of smaule time were wount to be. Subject onse to the Lacedimonians, founders therof, and another time to the Athenians, it florished in short time, with the firtilitie of the contry, in sutch sort that Philip, Kinge of Masedon, father of Alexander the Great, beinge in love with hir bewtie and riches, resolved with himselfe to conquire the same; lainge seage therto many dayes and could not take it, notwithstandinge that he enterprised it with a great and chosen hoast. With whome incountered Leon Sofista, a man of Bizantio, who said unto him: 'Tell me, Phillip, what injury hast thoue receaved of Bizantio, that in sutch fury

<sup>1</sup> Purchas, who printed this document in his *Pilgrimes* (vol. II, p. 1624), added: 'Read hereof Strabo, lib. 7.' To this a modern editor may append: 'also Bury's edition of Gibbon, vol. II, chaps. XVII *et seq.*, and Dean Hutton's *Constantinople*, chap. I.'

<sup>2</sup> The people of Megara.

<sup>3</sup> Purchas reads 'Calcedonians.'

<sup>4</sup> Byzas was the traditional founder of Byzantium, about 657 B.C. It was rebuilt and fortified by the Spartan general Pausanias, at a much later date than that given in the text.

thow arte moved to warre against it?' 'I have not,' answered Phillip, 'of thy citie had any injury that hath provoked me; but because it is the fairest citie of Thrasia, beinge inamored therewith, moved me to conquer it.' 'Those that be in love,' answered Leone, 'and would of thier beloved be loved, with sweete musicke, gifts, and sutchlike doe seeke to obteyne, and not with thier armies and warr to damnifie them.' Phillip in conclution departed without taking it.

As yet the same went forward prosperously; and in proses of time was augmented with buildinges and riches in sutch sort that then it passed all the cities of Asia, and in fertilitie was equale to the fairest of Europe. Emongest the bewtifullest thinges it had goodlie to be seene and most wourthy to be praysed was the waules, the stones whereof they brought frome Milesio [i.e. Miletus]; not any of which weare carved or graven, but sawed in manner of planks. This caused that the waules, beinge of many stones, notwithstandinge appeared to be but one. And the citie increased untill the time of Severo the Empiror<sup>1</sup>, that, havinge pcession the tirant Pesenio the blackmore, his mortall enemye, the said Empiror was moved to goe and beceadge it. He kept seage therto three years. In the end they weare constrayned throughe hunger to render to the discreation of the Romans; which was sutch that, after they had slaine all the men of warr and magistrates, they ruined the famous waules frome the top to the bothome.

So it remained in this calamitie untill the yeare 315<sup>2</sup>, that Constantine the Empiror (surnamed the Great) was minded to transept the seat of the empier of Rome to the east, to the end that with the more facilitie he might bridle the untamed Percians and Parthians, that howerlie rebelled, and, for that Rome was so farr off, the Empirors could not come so speedelie to force them to order. After they had searched divers places to this effect, and in some begonn to build, they were still dissuaded by dreames, untill in the end they came to Calsidon, which (as before I have said) is Scutary. Who havinge nowe chosen and disigned the

<sup>1</sup> Septimius Severus destroyed Byzantium in A.D. 196, and Pescennius Niger, Governor of Syria, who was contesting the empire with him, was killed shortly after (Bury's *Gibbon*, vol. 1, pp. 108-20).

<sup>2</sup> The date of Constantine's rebuilding of the city is 324-330 (or 334).

place, certayne egles (as writeth Zonora<sup>1</sup>, a Greek author), flieng theerabout, toke in thier bills peces of the wood of the builders and, hoveringe about the Streight of Helespont, they lett them faule neare to the ruinated Bizantio; of the which Constantine beinge advised, translated the builders frome Calsidonia; and takinge it to be the will of the devine power and for good lucke, well likinge also the mervailouse cituation, he compassed and inclosed in one circuite seven<sup>2</sup> most pleasaunt hills (imitatinge Rome, which hath so many), building a waule aboute, of length, thicknes, and fairenes one of the famoset in the wourld, with all thinges neadfull adorned, and furnished like unto a fortresse; the forme therof triangle, two parts washed one [i.e. on] with the sea, and the other compassed with land. He erected also many highe towers, built many somptiouse temples, and adorned it with many other infinite buildinges most magnificall, both publique and privat; commaunding by publique edict all princes of the emper that every one should build ether pallas or some somptious and splendent other monument. After which, for the greater adornement, he caused to be brought frome Rome divers memorable antiquities; and amongst the rest the most famous god Pallas<sup>3</sup> of ould Troy, which he caused to be sett in an open place that was cauled Placote. And the highe pillore of porfido<sup>4</sup> (which is a kind of hard stone) in the same place was erected; at the side wherof was planted an imadge of brasse in likenes of Apollo, which was of unmesurable greatnes; in whose stead he would have his name written thereon<sup>5</sup>. So greatlie was increased the adornement and bewtie therof that not without merrett it might have bine cauled another Rome. The ould writers which

<sup>1</sup> Joannes Zonaras, the twelfth century Byzantine chronicler and theologian.

<sup>2</sup> Only five out of the seven, according to Gibbon. But the author does not appear to discriminate between the original wall and that constructed under Theodosius II, which took in a larger space of ground.

<sup>3</sup> For 'god Pallas' Purchas substitutes 'Palladius.' Sandys (p. 23) refers to the tradition that there was in this spot 'an image of Pallas, three cubits high.' This famous image, and its theft, was the subject of many legends, and several cities in Greece and Italy (especially Rome) claimed to be the possessor of it. For its alleged removal to Constantinople see Bury's Gibbon, vol. v, p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> Italian for 'porphyry.'

<sup>5</sup> For this image see Bury's Gibbon, vol. II, p. 152. It stood in the Forum, on the top of what is now known as the 'Burnt Column' (see p. 77).

sawe it in the flower rather judged it a dwellinge for the gods then an habitation for earthlie empirors. Constantine named it Newe Rome; but the peoples voyes prevailed that cauled it alwayes, after the empirors name, Constantinople. The which his successors daylie adorned; and emongest the sightliest ornaments was the most proud pallas of the publique library<sup>1</sup>, which conteyned above 120,000 chosen written bookes; in the midst of which library ther was the gutts of a dragon, in length above 120 foote; uppon them written, in letters of gould, Homer Iliads. Ther weare many other wourthy thinges in divers places of the citie, as the Nimphes Grove, the markett place of mettall, with infinite others. Ther was also most famouse imagis, as of Juno Samo, Minerva Lindo, Venus Gnido<sup>2</sup>; in sutch sort that all straingers who came to it, full of admiration, weare astonied at the bewtie therof, reputinge it a celestiall thinge.

It suffered divers fortunes under the Greekish empirors many years, insomutch that throughe thier disgraces it went by little and little declineing; so that it came to be subject to the Frenc[h]e and Venetian in company 55 years, and in the end of the illustriouse familie Pelealoga Genevesi was brought out of thier hands<sup>3</sup>; untill in the end, after a longe seage, in the yeare 1453, the 29th of May, it came into the hands of the most mightie house of Ottaman and was taken by the great Sultan Mahemett the Second, the eighth Lord of Turks, 1190 years (little more or lesse) from the time that it was built of Great Constantine. It is observed of the writers that the first founder was cauled Constantine, and his mother Helen; likewise he that lost it Constantine, the sonne of Helen. Within the which Time the distroyer, with his trewe teeth, one Marce [i.e. Mars] with his swourd, another the ordenary pestelence and continuall fiers, diveres earthquakes, and many overflowinges, which it hath alwayes had, hath brought it to sutch a passe that nowe ther is not remaininge of so many antiquities other then scarce the name of Constanti-

<sup>1</sup> Built by Constantius, the successor of Constantine.

<sup>2</sup> The island of Samos was specially identified with the worship of Juno; Lindos (in Rhodes) with that of Minerva; and Cnidus or Gnidus, on the coast of Caria, with that of Venus.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the capture of the city by the forces of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, and to the restoration of the Greek line by John Ducas and Michael Palaeologus in 1251.

nople. And for conclusion to say therof that which remaineth, this citie is cituate in the province of Thratia, beinge fertill and mightie in arms, insomutch that it hath of ould time bine cauled the contry of Marce. It is in the Streight of Hellespont, in Europe (which is distant 14 miles frome Calsidon, nowe Scutarie), built over against Asia at the poynt of Sea Euxina, cauled the Great or Blacke Sea, wheare Ovid named it port of the two seas; beinge in 45 degrees of latitude and in 56 of longitude<sup>1</sup>.

The mightie princes of the house of Ottaman, who wan it of the Greeks, havinge distroyed all the famouse buildinges, with thier temples, churches, sepulcers, etc., they have geven it another sort of ornament, buildinge them one the top of the seven hills within the citie. One the first hill is to be seene, beginninge frome the west towards the port of Andranople<sup>2</sup>, a fragment, standinge memory of the ould emperiall pallas, with certayne gallaries, waist romes, and pillors within itselfe, doth well shewe the great power of Time the distroyer and overthrower of all, that a prince of the wourld his pallas is nowe become a lodge for olifants, panthars, and other beasts. Hard by that gate in the south street is a church newelie built by the Queene Mother of this present Sultan Muratt; the same is little, but faire and finelie contrived. One the second hill was the temple and pallas of the Patriarke of Constantinople, a thinge wourthy the memory; where weare buried, in chests of fine marble, most of the Christian empirors; but four or five years since it is reduced into a church, as nowe may be seene<sup>3</sup>.

The third and hiest hill hath uppon it the church and magnificale sepulcre of the great Sultan Mahemett the Second<sup>4</sup>, he that toke the citie of the last and unfortunate Greeke Constantine; a buildinge wourthy of admiration, chefelie at thes

<sup>1</sup> Really about 41° N. latitude and 29° E. longitude (from Greenwich). The author is probably reckoning the longitude from the meridian of Hierro (Ferro), in the Canary Islands, but this would only add about 18°.

<sup>2</sup> The Adrianople Gate, on the north-west of the city. The building referred to is known as the Palace of Belisarius.

<sup>3</sup> The church of St Mary Pammakaristos, on the hill overlooking the Phanar.

<sup>4</sup> The great mosque of Mehmet II, though much spoilt by repairs made after the earthquake of 1763, is still one of the chief sights of the city. Round it stand eight academies, a residence for students, a diet-house for the poor, a hospital, a caravanserai, and a bath (Murray's *Handbook*, p. 84).

tims, in which the Turks ar more pratique [i.e. skilled] then in those tims when matters weare more grosse and rusticall. Mervailous is the greatnes and magnificence of it, beinge made in the similitude of the Sofia, and hath about it 100 howses covered with lead, of a round cube fation, ordeyned to receive straingers and travaillers of what nation or religion soever they be; where they may rest (as alike at other churches) with thier horsses and servants three days together, yf they please, and have thier chargis borne, not paying anything for thier owne and servants diett. Besides ther ar without the circuet of the church other 150 lodgings for the poore of the citie, unto whome they geve to eate and to every one of them in mony an asper a day. It hath also a place where they geve siropp and medisens of free cost to all that demand, and another for government of the madd people. The said Sultan Mahemett left for the maintenance hearof sixty thowsand ducketts yearelie rent in that time, which nowe doth import above 200,000; for they have of the rents of Sofia, to which also, besides other revenewe, belongeth the besistans<sup>1</sup> and in a mannerr all the principall shoppes in the citie, even untill you come to the Seralio of the Great Turke, which paieth rent therto 1001 aspers per day.

The fourth hill hath uppon it the church and sepulcer of Sultan Selim<sup>2</sup>, father of Sultan Soliman, in the same forme and order as the others ar; a buildinge rather firmer then otherways. The fifth hill hath the church and sepulcer of Sultan Baizat<sup>3</sup>, father of the abovenamed Selim, with a great piazza (voyd place), which is the spatioussest belonginge to any thier churches, and most frequented by the Turks. The sixth hill hathe the mervailouse church and sepulcer of the trioumphant and invi[n]sible Sultan Soliman; a buildinge wourthy of sutch a monarke, in the best and most frequented place of the citie, which passeth in greatnes, wourkemanshipp, marble pillors, and riches more then kingle, all the other churches of the empirors his predecessors;

<sup>1</sup> *Bezistan*, strictly 'a cloth market,' but meaning more generally a covered bazaar (see p. 77).

<sup>2</sup> The mosque of Selim I is in the northern part of the city, not far from the Petri Gate. 'The style is simple, one vast dome resting on a drum lighted by many windows and supported by flying buttresses' (Hutton, p. 304).

<sup>3</sup> The mosque of Bayezid II, in about the centre of the eastern half of the city.

a wourke which meriteth to be matched with the seven wounders of the wourld<sup>1</sup>.

The seventh and last hill hath the somptiouse temple of Sancta Safia, founded by Justinian, the fifteenth empiror of the East, in the yeare 530<sup>2</sup>. It was a buildinge of greatnes, wourkemanshipp, bewetie, and ritches incomparable, which [it] is said he mad to match the buildinge of the temple of Salamon. In time past this toke a great part of the citie. The center of which temple is made round in a cube, like the Pantheo of Rome which Agrippa built; as that was, so this topp is round, but mutch more large and highe. And ther ar two rankes of very great marble pillours, all of one culloure, and of sutch thickenes that two men can scarce fathome<sup>3</sup> one; then thier ar another order, more higher and not so longe nor thicke, that houldeth up the cube; the which is made within with great art after the mosaic[a]ll resemblance, with gould and azure. The inside of the temple is all implastered, and overwrought with great tables of porfido, serpentino, and marble of divers collours; and the cloysters round about ar of like wauling and wourkemanshipp, all singuler faire and bewtiful more then ordinary. But of the picturs of all sorts (as the painted imagis) the Turks have scraped out the eyes. The covering one the outside is of lead; the gates (which have bine the fairest in the wourld) of fine mettall of Corinthe. It was, in the time of the Grekish empirors the most ritch, perfect, and somptiouse temple, not onelie of the East but of all the wourld; for ther weare 100 gates, and it was more then a mile aboute, compassinge the howses of the cannons, prests, and others. It had 3 c.M. ducketts yearelie rent (300,000)<sup>4</sup>. Ther is nowe the sepulcre of Sultan Selim the Second, father of this present Sultan Moratt. His church, for waunt of place, he caused to be made in Adranople<sup>5</sup>; which is also a somptiouse thinge.

Uppon one of the corners of the citie (a poynt of the mouth of the streyght that devideth Europ and Asia), one the promontorio

<sup>1</sup> The mosque of Solimān the Magnificent, 'by far the most splendid of all in Stambul' (Hutton, p. 295).

<sup>2</sup> St Sophia was built in 537.

<sup>3</sup> Embrace.

<sup>4</sup> On this see the remarks of Lybyer (p. 202).

<sup>5</sup> See *Early Voyages*, p. 188.



cauled of the antients Chrissochiro, which is as mutch to say Lord of Gould (a name that whosoever gave it peradventer did forse as mutch as nowe is inclosed in the bosome therof), and of the Greeks cauled St. Demetrio, is the admirable habitation (Seraglio) of the Grand Signor<sup>1</sup>; that hath bine in time past a monestary of monks of the said Sofia, and is four miles about, compassed round with a highe waule<sup>2</sup> and very faire towers; built by great Mahumett the Second, amplified and decked by all his scuccessors. It is so replenished with faire pallaces, brave gardens, marble cesterns, fine fountayns, somptiouse banias [i.e. *bagnos*] that it weare an unwise part to discribe them, espetially in regard that this present Sultan Moratt hath begonne so magnifically to replenish it; for he alone hath built therin more then all his prediccors together. And particularlie he hath bewtified it with two faire lodgings, or as we may say banquitinge howses, which they caule Chousks [kiosks]; the top coveringes of lead, but underwrought with curiouse wourke of bossinge, paintinge, and gilding; built of fine marble pillors of purfido and serpentino, ritchlie laid with gould and inestemable expence. Without the Great Seraglio, nere to the poynt therof, is a little fountayne but ritch, of white marble, laid one with gould, of very fine wourkemanshipp, aboundinge with exelent water, built by this present Sultan Moratt, in memory that ther he went aland, dismountinge the caike, when he came to take poccession of the empier, as may be redd theruppon, written in Turkish letters.

In the chefest place of the citie, betwene the Piazza of Sultan Baizat and that of Sultan Soliman, ther is another Seraglio, cauled of the Turks Eskie Serai<sup>3</sup>, as mutch to say the Ould Seraglio. The same was first builded and inhabited by Great Mahumett the Second (I meane before the abovenamed). It was 2,000 paces about before that the trioump[h]ant Sultan Soliman, to make his church, toke away the halfe. It is compassed with a waule<sup>2</sup> of fifteen yeards highe, without any terretts. The virgins

<sup>1</sup> Now known as the Old Seraglio, the chief palace of the Sultans from the time of Mehmet II down to 1839. See the description given by Mundy (vol. 1, p. 28).

<sup>2</sup> Purchas, whose version contains many errors, here prints 'vault.'

<sup>3</sup> The Eski Serai, or old palace, the original residence of the Sultans. Its site has since been occupied by the Seraskierat.

of the Grand Sig[no]r remaine ther. Thether he goeth many tims uppon pleasure; for within it is faire lodgings, great orchards, many banias, cleare fountayns; and of ould times the deceased empirors weare wount ther to hunt.

Many other faire churches are disperced throughe the citie, of great cost and goodlie prospect, built with royall magnificence; as that<sup>1</sup> which Sultan Soliman caused to be made at the death of one of his sonns, cauled Iegni Sultan Mahemett, as mutch to say as Newe Sultan Mahemett (different frome the other of the Great abovesaid). Neare therby ar lodgings of the janeries (who ar howsed in manner of friers). Giumas<sup>2</sup>, mosches, and other places for prayer ar ther likewise built by many bassaies and other great personadges (but not of sutch importance as those aforenominated), as that of Mahemett Bassa, Dauut [Daud] Bassa, Rostan [Rustam] Bassa, Mahemet Bassa, and of Messih [Mesih] Bassa the Euenuke. And nowe they ar a buildinge two newe ones, better then the others: one of the exelent Sinan Bassa<sup>3</sup>, neare the redd pillore which is by the lodginge of the Empirors ambass[ad]or; the other, very faire, in Auratt Bazar (hard by the pillore which they say to be of Pompei), of the exelent Girahe Mahemett Bassa [Jerräh Mehmet Pasha]; and divers others very many. (The Jewe, the presenter of this pamphlett, saithe without number. Some Turks to me have named the number to be 18,000, great and smaule churches of Turks<sup>4</sup>. The Patriarke of Greekes, Militeo, who had formerlie bine of Alexandria and ther died, tould me that ther is in Constantinople 100 Christian churches. Most assueredlie, within the citie and subbarbs I take it ther ar more, for at Galata, over the water (as may be compared to Sothwarke frome London), ther ar of Popish churches, wherin ar graven imagis, four or five, and two or three monastaries of Romaine friers; of Greekeish churches and friers many more, in whose churches ar no graven imagis, yet they whipp themselves ther, as the Papists doe. This I have

<sup>1</sup> The Shahzadé Mosque.

<sup>2</sup> A *jāma-masjid* was a mosque of the larger type.

<sup>3</sup> The mosque of Rustam Pasha, built by Sinān Pasha (see p. 86 n), who had married his granddaughter.

<sup>4</sup> On f. 351 a Sanderson says: 'Some report that thier ar within the waules 18,000 churches; but I doe thinke them not to exceade 8 or 9,000, wherof ar at least 100 Christian churches and many sinagogs for the Jewes.'

seene uppon a Good Friday, as I remember. Bells<sup>1</sup> the Christians ar not permitted to have in thier churches. Thus mutch frome the matter of the Jewes discourse; which is not frome the purpose of that therin handled.)

The greatest and most famous spatious place of the citie is that which in time past of the Greeks was cauld Hippodramo<sup>2</sup>, and nowe of the Turks Atmaidan, which is as mutch to say, both in the one and the other languidge, Runninge of Horsses; for ther they did and doe runne them. In time past it hath bine mutch more greater, but the many pallaces that divers great men in prosse of time have built hath lessoned it; as the great Ebrim Bassa<sup>3</sup>, who builded in the time of Soltan Soliman that faire pallace which is to be seene, nowe the lodginge of this other Ebrim Bassa<sup>4</sup>, given him when he married the Empirors daughter. Right over against it is another Seraglio; that also built in time by the exelent Rostan Bassa, when he married his daughter unto Ahmatt [Ahmad] Bassa.

In the middest of this great piazza is to be seene, raysed uppon four dice [i.e. cubical pedestals] of fine mettell, a very faire peramidie of mingled stone, all of one pece, 50 cubitts highe, carved with heroycall [i.e. very large] letters, resemblinge the agulia<sup>5</sup> of Rome, in whose topp weare inclosed the ashes of the unconquered Julius Ceaser, [th]at nowe Pope Sistus hath reduced [i.e. taken back] into the middest of the Place of

<sup>1</sup> 'In the monastery at Caleos Iland [Halki], where Master Edward Barton the ambassador lies buried, I did see (which they use to knocke upon with a barre of iron of a cubit length, *tinge, tange*, first upon one side, then on the other side) a long piece of flat iron, halfe a foot broad, an inch and halfe thicke, set edgeling [i.e. edge-wise] one yard and an halfe from the ground. This they use instead of a bell, to call the friers together in that Greekish monasterie.' (Note by Sanderson in Purchas's version.)

<sup>2</sup> The Hippodrome, lying to the south-west of St Sophia. See Della Valle's account of it and its monuments (vol. 1, p. 37).

<sup>3</sup> Ibrāhīm Pasha, the celebrated Grand Vizier and favourite of Solimān the Magnificent, who, however, caused him to be executed in March 1536, on the suspicion that he was aspiring to the throne. His splendid palace near the Atmeidān became at a later date the quarters of the imperial pages.

<sup>4</sup> For the career of this other Ibrāhīm Pasha see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.n. In 1586 he married the princess 'Ā'isha, daughter of Murād III, whose favourite he was. Under that monarch's successor, Ibrāhīm was three times Grand Vizier, and was holding that office at the time of his death in 1601.

<sup>5</sup> Italian *agulia*, 'an obelisk.'

St. Peter<sup>1</sup>. This monument Theodosious, the 43[rd] empirore of Rome (by nation a Spaniard) and 80th<sup>2</sup> of Constantinople, caused to be erected, in memory that he had conquered the Gothes, the Alani, the Hunis, and so many tirants that usurped the empiers of the East and West, as by the Greeke and Lattin verces therin graven yet after so many years is to be readd, although a wheele hath caried away some part of the Latin; which ar thes folowinge:

*difficilis quandam dominus parere serenis  
jussus et extinctis palmam portare tiranis  
omnia Theodosio cedunt suboli que pereni  
terdinis sic victus seco domitus que diebus  
judice sub Proclo superas elatus ad auras*<sup>3</sup>.

[On] his [i.e. its] foote, that is doble in the foundation, which is two cubitts highe, is carved the mannor and way they toke to sett up this peramidie or oblique, the which was ther raised by Theodotiose in the yeare 390; so that it passeth 1200 years

<sup>1</sup> 'In the market place or field before the Church of St. Peter... Sixtus Quintus, adorning Rome with many ornaments, erected an obeliske seventie two foote high, upon the top wherof the ashes of Julius Caesar were put of old; but in the yeere 1586 this Pope consecrated the same to the Crosse, and put upon the top of it a crosse gilded, and beneath foure lions gilded. This obeliske is vulgarly called *La Guglia di S. Pietro*. The globe, in which the ashes of Julius Caesar were put, is now shewed in the Capitoll, and in the place thereof stands the said crosse, with the armes of the said Pope' (Moryson, pt. 1, p. 132). The legend about the ashes of Julius Caesar is not to be taken seriously, though it was widely believed, as is shown by the mention of it in Evelyn's *Diary* (s.d. 17 Nov. 1644). The obelisk itself is a monolith of red granite, which was brought from Heliopolis in Egypt during the reign of Caligula, and was dedicated to Augustus and Tiberius, as appears by an inscription still visible. It originally stood in the Circus of Nero, and was removed to its present position, under the orders of Sixtus V, by the architect Domenico Fontana.

<sup>2</sup> Should be 'sixth.'

<sup>3</sup> Purchas says: 'The verses were added, so imperfect that I thought fitter to omit them.' The version given above, however, agrees with that in Murray's *Handbook* (p. 88), except that the latter substitutes *quondam* for *quandam*, *terdenis* for *terdinis*, and *ego* for *seco*. From Sandys's rendering (p. 27) it would seem that the damaged portions were the middles of the last two lines. The obelisk itself, which is still standing, was originally brought from Heliopolis by the Emperor Julian. It was shaken down by an earthquake and re-erected by Theodosius the Great (it is to this that the inscription refers). On the pedestal are represented the obelisk being brought to the Hippodrome and placed in position, and the imperial family watching the games. Hutton gives pictures of the obelisk and one of the reliefs (pp. 320, 324). See also Mundy (vol. 1, pp. 33, 195).

since it was erected, nowe that it is the year 1594; and 76 yeares after that the great Constantine built the citie. In the second foundation, which is four cubitts highe, ar carved the tirants round aboute, who to the said empiror Theodosious (he also beinge carved in the midst) one every side bringeth presents and renders obedience. This piazza hath also another pillore very highe, of squared stone, in manner all ruinated with the time<sup>1</sup>; and likewise one of brasse, made with mervailous arte, in forme of three serpents wrethed together, with thier mouthes upwards; which, [it] is said, was made to inchant the serpents that one a time molested the citie<sup>2</sup>. Ther was, betwene the agulia and the brasse pilloure, four very highe pillours equallie distant, with thier fondation and topp ornament; the which Sultan Selim, father of this present Sultan Moratt, removed and sent to Adranople, for the church which he ther built. This place had also, before the place [palace ?] of Ebrim Bassa, some years past three faire imagis of brasse, that the victoryouse Sultan Soliman, after he had taken Buda, brought (and no other thinge) in testimony of his victory; they weare of the great Mathia Couvino, the most famous Kinge of Hungary<sup>3</sup>. The said imagis, when the named Ebrim Bassa was slaine, weare by the fury of the people throwne to the ground.

At the end of this place, towards the Sofia, ar also to be seene certayne ruins of a great circle of a theator which was ther, where the people satt to see the playes and pastims that ther weare shewed. Nowe it is a place wherin the lions and other animalls of the Great Turke ar kept. One thinge resteth, in my judgment to be mervailed at and the most noteable in this place; which is

<sup>1</sup> The Colossus, originally nearly a hundred feet high. It was once covered with brass plates, and marked the goal in the chariot races. It still survives, in a dilapidated state.

<sup>2</sup> The famous Serpent Column, set up by Constantine. The three heads have long since disappeared, but the rest of the monument is still in position. Lybyer (p. 240 n) says that the heads are in the treasury of the Old Seraglio; Hutton (p. 324) mentions only one, and states that it is in the museum. See also Mundy, vol. 1, pp. 33, 195.

<sup>3</sup> Matthias I, Hunyadi (Matthias Corvinus), King of Hungary in the fifteenth century. Ramberti, in his description (1534) of Constantinople, mentions 'a bronze Hercules brought from Hungary' as then standing in the Hippodrome (Lybyer, p. 240). The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (under 'Constantinople') refers to a paper on the subject by Wiegand in the *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Arch. Inst.*, XXIII (1908).

that it is all hollowe underneth and houlden up with pillors of ritche marble, with thier foundation and topp-garnishing all wrought in brainches. They ar said to passe the number of 1000; and underneth it is light and fresh water. Ther ar also instruments or great wheeles that they use to spinne silke with. And not onelie this voyd place, but it is held for certayne that under all the citie they may waulke, as may be perceaved by many other ruenated places. This was very faire to behould some years past, when the present Sultan Moratt, for the space of three or four monethes, made therin pastims at the circomsetion of his first begotton sonne, Sultan Mahemett. It was a mervailouse incredible thinge the shewes and playes they had at that time.

In another lardge and spatious place, farr frome this towards the port [i.e. gate] of Selembria, called by the Turks Aurat Bazar (which is as much [as] to say, the markett place of women, for thether they come to sell thier wourks and wares) is to be seene a very highe great pilloure, written uppon round about one the outside, made hollowe within; which they commonlie caule of Pompei, perhap because it resemblith another, that is of Pompeie, in Rome, of the like fation; but I beleve that nether Pompei, nor other for him, ever caused this to be sett up<sup>1</sup>. Another highe pillore, of redd marble, bound about with iron hoopes, is to be seene neare to the lodginge of the Empirors ambass[ad]or, with certayne Greeke letters which time hath consumed and often fiers many times burned it, in sutch sort that they cannott be understoad or read<sup>2</sup>.

Ther is to be seene also in the citie of Constantinople certaine very great places, of the auntients cauled Numathia<sup>3</sup>, which they filled with water and shewed thereon the battailes of thier navi, to delight the people; which at this time is full of orchards. Ther is in the chefest places for trafique of the citie two basistans,

<sup>1</sup> It is called the column of Arcadius and is figured by Sandys (p. 28). Only the pedestal now remains. See also Mundy, vol. 1, pp. 34, 196.

<sup>2</sup> The column of Constantine still stands, in a much damaged condition, not far from the Hippodrome. It is generally known as the 'Burnt Column.' Sandys (p. 27) confirms that it was 'right against the mansion of the German Emperors ambassador (who only is suffered to lodge within the city).' See also Mundy, vol. 1, pp. 34, 196.

<sup>3</sup> Purchas corrects this to 'Naumachia.'

which ar certayne buildings four square, highe and made round at the topp, in the forme of great lodges covered; each of which have four gates, openinge uppon four streets round about; garnished with shopps stuffed with all rare and exquisite merchandice, as [is] of inestemable valewe, pretiouse stones and pearles, zebulini<sup>1</sup> (sables) and other ritch furs of all sorts, silkes and cloth of gould, bowes, arrowes, buckelers, and swourds. Heare likewise they sell many Christian slaves of all sects and adge, in manner as they sell thier horssees, lookinge them in the eyes, mouth, and all other parts. This they doe every forenone, except Friday, which the Turks hould for thier day of rest.

Ther is also to be noted the Sarachiana [*sarrājiana*]; which is a street of sadlers and of them that wourke in lether: a thinge so wourthy and ritch that the more part of straingers who come thether mervaille more at this place then all the rest of the most wourthy and ritch that ar to be seene in Constantinople.

The citie is also full of a nember of very fa[i]re banies, as well publique as private, which, in imitation of the auntient Greeks and Romaines, ar built and contrived with great industry, sumptuousnes, and expence almost incredible. Besides those of the Great Turks seraglio, his women, and bassaies, the most of the common sorts ar bewtified with pillors, banks, and pavements of divers and rare colored marble. Faire they ar, and very great, with plentie of water.

I lett pass the divers seraglios, faire howses of many viseroyes, ould and newe, so great and compassed with sutch highe waules, that they rather apeare to be cities then seraglioos; which without make no bewetifull shewe, but within ar full of all riches and pleasure the wourld afords. For the Turks are wount to say that they build not to pleasure the sight of those that passe by the waye, but for thier owne commoditie; deridinge the goodlie shewes that our pallacies in Christendome make outwardlie, and that within they ar not agreable to thier minds.

Heare I would make an end; but I cannott forgett the goodlie arches and conducts of water which Sultan Soliman, of good memory, brought with incredebille expences so many miles by

<sup>1</sup> *Zibellino* is the Italian for the animal whose fur is known as 'sable.'

land<sup>1</sup>; and in so great quantatie that, over and above so many ould fountaynes, he increased many more, with faire marble so magnificall and with sutch quantatie of water that is most notable; beinge a very necessary ornament to the citie. Ther ar so many that ther is not in a manner a streete which hath not one of his; and the greatest prayes, in my opinion, which he meretith for so wourthy a wourke is that, settinge apart the expences which he made in conductinge this water and in makeinge the fountaynes, all the places which he built he caused to be bought with redie mony of the honors [i.e. owners], without forceinge any; and oftentimes changed the places appoynted, because he would not have the people lament who weare unwillinge to sell them; and toke not one asper towards the charge. Also [therè ?] beinge broken some of the conducts after they were finished, Sultan Soliman said that he thanked God they weare decaied in his time, that he might repaire them without exactinge one the people or that thier should have come another prince that would not have regarded them.

The citie Constantinople in time past had eleven gates, every one for some purpose, cauled Aurea, Pagea, S. Roma, Carthaseo, Regia, Caligaria, Xilina, Haringna, Phara, Theodosia, and Siliaca<sup>2</sup>. But the continuall fiers, the many earthquakes, and perticulerlie that which happened in the time of Sultan Baiazit<sup>3</sup>, father of Selim, the moneth of September an[no] 1509, which lasted 18 dayes together (lettinge passe the other buildings, in which above 13,000 persons perished), it overthrewe the famouse

<sup>1</sup> The aqueduct of Valens, built in 366, and repaired by Solimān.

<sup>2</sup> This list agrees generally with that given by Moryson (pt. 1, p. 264). It comprises the gates on the landward side, running from the Sea of Marmara to the Golden Horn, though the order is not exact. The first is the Golden Gate (now the Yedi Qulé Qapu). The second is the Gate of the Pegé (a spring) or of Siliwri. The third is that of St Romanus (Top Qapusi). The fourth represents the Gate of Charisius (Edirné Qapu). The fifth is meant for the Gate of Rhegium (Yeni Mevlevi-hané Qapu). The sixth is the Gate of the Kaligaria (Eyri Qapu). The seventh is the Xyliné or Xylo Porta. The eighth (called 'Harmagona' by Moryson) seems to be a perversion of Argura Limné ('Silver Lake'), generally termed the Gate of Gyrolimné. The ninth is the Gate of the Phanar (Phanar Qapu). The tenth is that of St Theodosia (Aya Qapu). The eleventh ('Spilica' in Moryson) is intended for the Gate of Ispigas (Jubaly Qapu). For a full account of these gates see *Byzantine Constantinople*, by A. van Millingen (London, 1899).

<sup>3</sup> Bayezid II, 1481-1512.



auntient waule. The saide Sultan Bai[a]zett gathered together more then 60,000 men to rebuild it<sup>1</sup>, makinge newe gates, which ar at this day 25. They weare one lesse; but the Sultana, mother of this empiror, made a faire publique bania fewe years since, and for the more magnificence opened a newe gate. Thes folowing ar the names at this present, beginning at the east gate of the citie, hard by the Great Seraglio:

1. Giehud Capasi [Yehud Qapusi], the Jewes Gate, for ther-about they dwell.
2. Baluc Bazar [Balyk Bazar], the Fish Gate, for ther they sell thier fish.
3. Yemis Eschelessi [Yemis Eskelesi], the Frute Gate<sup>2</sup>, for to that scale comes thier frute.
4. Odun Capi [Odun Qapu], the Wood Gate. Ther they waye and sell thier wood.
5. Yegni Capi [Yeni Qapu], Newe Gate.
6. Un Capan [Un Qapan Qapu], the Coarne Gate. Ther they sell thier coarne.
7. Giubali Capi [Jubaly Qapu], the Mone<sup>3</sup> Gate.
8. Aya Capi [Aya Qapu], the Holie Gate<sup>4</sup>.
9. Yegni Capi, the Newe Gate which the Empresse caused to be made.
10. Petri Capi [Petri Qapu], St. Peters Gate.
11. Fener Capi [Phanar Qapu], the Lanthorne [i.e. Lighthouse] Gate, where M[ahomet] the Second entered, when he toke Constantinople.
12. Balatt Capi [Balat Qapu], the Pallas Gate; for it was the cheefe gate in time of the G[reek] empirors.
13. Ayuanzari Capi [Aiwan Serai Qapu], Jobs Gate<sup>5</sup>; for ther-

<sup>1</sup> The walls still stand, though in very ruinous condition, and, as will be seen, retain for the most part their old appellations. Hutton (p. 288) calls them 'the most interesting mediaeval defences in Europe.'

<sup>2</sup> Rather 'landing-place.'

<sup>3</sup> A wrong etymology. It is really 'the gate of the glaziers.'

<sup>4</sup> So called from the church of St Theodosia, which formerly stood opposite to it.

<sup>5</sup> 'Aiwan Serai' means 'the serai with the arch.' But the gate was also called Eyoob Ansari Qapu, from the adjoining village of Eyoob, where Eyoob is said to have been buried. This personage, however, was not the biblical Job, but the standard-bearer of the Prophet, killed at the first siege of Con-

abouts (they say) he lieth buried, in a little church to which the G[rand] Sig[no]r goeth oft in devotion.

14. Egri Capi [Eyri Qapu], the Wrie<sup>1</sup> Gate.
15. Aenderne Capi [Edirné Qapu], the Gate of Andranople.
16. Top Capesi [Top Qapusi], the Ar[t]ilirie Gate.
17. Celebri Capi [Siliwri Qapu], the Gate of Selembria<sup>2</sup>.
18. Yegni Capi<sup>3</sup>, Newe Gate.
19. Yedi Cula [Yedi Qulé Qapu], the Gate of the Seven Towers; for so many ther ar together, built of the Ottaman princes; wheare, it is said, they have in times past put thier tresure.
20. Narli Capi [Narly Qapu], Gate of the Pomgranuts.
21. Semati Capi [Psamatia Qapu], St. Mathewes<sup>4</sup> Gate.
22. Yegni Capi, Newe Gate.
23. Cum Capi [Qum Qapu], Gate of the Sands.
24. Chiatladi Capi [Chatlady Qapu], the Cracked Gate.
25. Ahir Capi [Akhör Qapu], the Gate of the Stables, wheare the Grand Sig[no]rs horses ar kept.

This is all which at this time commeth to my purpose to say (*a v[ostra] s[ignoria] ill[u]stre*); havinge spoken onelie of the bodie of the citie Constantinople, with the most brevitie and verytie that I could possible; not touchinge the matters of the Ayuan-saria, where the Turks say is buried patient Jobe, and whear ar many sepulcres of mutch importance of the chieffest bassaies and other great men, houlden of them for holie ground. Nether touch I the citie of Pera (Colonia<sup>5</sup> in time past of the Genovesis), Tophana, or Scutari, for it would be neadfull for them to make a longe discourse; levinge the same untill some other occation that you please to commaund me. And yf heerein be any error, lett the smaule time I have had to writt it excuse me, and supplie the same with the good will I have to serve you. And seeinge this discourse axcepted, I will present you also with a summary of the stantinople by the Arabs in A.D. 668. Sandys (p. 29) refers to 'the sepulchre of Jupe Sultan, a santon of theirs, called vulgarly and ridiculously the sepulchre of Job.' See also Covell's account in *Early Voyages*, p. 173.

<sup>1</sup> 'Eyri' means crooked.

<sup>2</sup> Siliwri is a town on the northern coast of the Sea of Marmara.

<sup>3</sup> Now the Belgrad Qapu.

<sup>4</sup> Wrong. The gate was so called from 'the sand thrown upon the beach' (Hutton, p. 276).

<sup>5</sup> 'A colony' (Purchas).

lives and deeds of the Ottaman princes, which I am gathering together, with the greatest brevity and verity that I can possible.

At Constantinople presented me, written by a Jewe doctor<sup>1</sup>, an auntient dweller in that citie; which when I had read, I presentlie out of Italian trancelated it, the 17 and 18 dayes of August 1594.

JOHN SANDERSON.

# SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION (f. 35<sup>r</sup> a)

In Constantinople ar resident:

Viziers (I say Viseroyes)

6

Every vizier hath but 1000 aspers a day pay. The Grete Turke aloweth himselfe but 100r.

Cadyes, that is Judges, of the learned of thier religion,

4

Thes 10 sitt in divan to judge all causes. Muftie, the cheefe judge of thier religion and highe prest,

1

Defterdare is treasurer. Emrahur Bassie [*Emir-i-akhor Bashy*], master of the horssees. Janisari Aga, capitaine of janisaris. Chaous Aga. Capigie Aga. Spahie Aga. Bustangie Basshi. Capitan Bashawe. Capi Aga [see p. 86 n], etc.

Piekes [*peik*], pensioners<sup>2</sup> about his person

300

Solacks [*solaq*], his footemen

300

Falconers, dwarfs, and dome [i.e. dumb] men<sup>3</sup>

300

Whores of all sorts, at least

1000

Chahouses, that is officers or sargients belonging to his courts

1600

Capogies [*qapujy*], that is porters to his gates (70 waits every ordinary day), of them

700

Spahies, which ar his gentillmen, I say horsemen

30,000

<sup>1</sup> Probably the 'Salamone Usche, Jew,' who presented to Barton, early in 1595, an account he had written (in Italian) of the death of Sultan Murād and the accession of his successor. This was sent by Barton to Cecil (S.P., *Turkey*, vol. III).

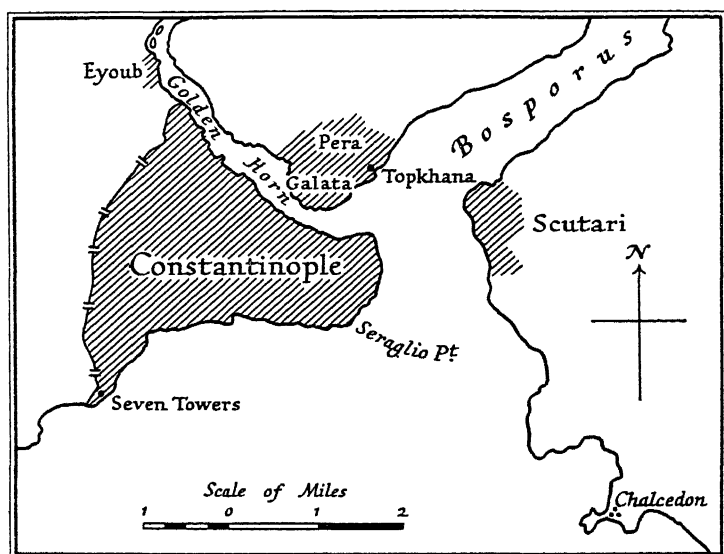
<sup>2</sup> Bodyguard. ('The cowslips tall her pensioners be.')

<sup>3</sup> For these mutes see *Early Voyages*, p. 70. For the various officials named above, and their duties, see Lybyer, p. 331.

Janisaries, to say footemen, common soldiers	24,000
Topgies [ <i>topgy</i> ], gunners aboute his great artillarie	3,000
Jamoglains [see p. 88], youthes to make janisaries	20,000
	<hr/>
	81,207 <sup>1</sup>
Other Turks, dwellers in the citie (besides women and childeren)	200,000
Christians of all sorts and contries, at least	200,000
Jues, in and neare about the citie, at least	150,000
Women and childeren of all sorts, Christians, Jues, Turks, etc.	600,000
	<hr/>
	1,231,207.

The citie Constantinople is within the waules 10 miles compas.

The Great Turke hath continually in pay at least 1,000,000; which he accompteth to be his slaves, frome the greatest bassa to the least jamoglaine.



<sup>1</sup> This figure seems to omit the four Qadis.

## SANDERSON'S THIRD VISIT TO THE LEVANT, 1599-1602 (f. 133 b)

Frome London to Gravesend the 11th of Febrewary 1598 [1599]. The 14th toke shippinge in the Hector<sup>1</sup>. Lay at Tilbury two dayes. To the Downes the 17th; lay ther eight dayes. Came to Dartmouth the 3d of March; ridd ther four dayes, and came to Plimouth the 8th. Sett saile three or four dayes after, and in May 1599 arived in Alexandretta, havinge touthed at Argier and Zant by the waye. In the said moneth of May<sup>2</sup> we departed, coasted all alonge the north side of Siprus, passed close by the Seven Capes<sup>3</sup>, came and cast ancore at Roads. I went also at this time ashore ther. Thence we went and came with the shipp aground at Samos, the iland whear Esop was boarne. So sailed by Sio and Mittelin; weare also aground about Cape Janesary<sup>4</sup> *in some danger, and with much adoe wee came off at last, pulling the ship off with our boate and skiffe at the sterne, by strength and labour of the marriners*. Havinge dobled that cape, I toke a smaule barke and went to Galipolie and thence to Constantinople, wheare the Hector arived about the fine [i.e. end] of September<sup>5</sup>. At hir enterance [into] the port in trioumph, discharginge the ordenance they lost a man, who was parted in the middle, beinge busie about clensing a pece in the forecastell.

At this my third and last beinge in Constantinople, *of one of the Coens, an ancient and very learned Jew priest, I did with much intreatie and my money get a very old booke. It was the five bookes of Moses in foure languages*<sup>6</sup>. *I presented it to my brother, Doctor*

<sup>1</sup> A full account of the outward voyage is given by Dallam, who was a fellow passenger (*Early Voyages*, p. 1). He does not mention Sanderson.

<sup>2</sup> According to Dallam the *Hector* left Scanderoon on 10 June (*Early Voyages*, p. 33).

<sup>3</sup> Presumably Cape Khelidonia, on the mainland.

<sup>4</sup> On the Asiatic side of the entrance to the Dardanelles. Dallam says nothing of the ship going aground; but he explains why many of the passengers quitted her at this point (*Early Voyages*, p. 50).

<sup>5</sup> Really 16 August. The salute referred to was fired on the 28th, when the ship had been repainted. See *Early Voyages*, p. 59, where the accident to a gunner is described.

<sup>6</sup> Probably, as Dr Cowley has suggested, the edition of the Pentateuch in four languages which was printed at Constantinople in 1546. Two copies of it are in the Bodleian.

*Sanderson. Hee lent it Doctor Barlow<sup>1</sup>, hee to Doctor Andrewes. They used it in their translation at Cambridge, and did returne it to Bishop Barlow. The Bishop dyed, and I thinke one Johnson, his sisters sonne, hath it, who (as I heard) had the residue of the Bishops bookes.*

I went to visitt the sepulcher of that forenamed Master Edward Barton, late ambassiator, who lieth interred (accordinge to his alwayes desier) under an olive tree before the enterance into the monastary one the topp of Calcose [i.e. Halki] Ile. A stone of white marble is laid uppon him, [with] letters theron ingraven of his title and decease<sup>2</sup>. Other places I went to also, which I had bine at in former tim[e]s.

And some strainge actions, other then formerlie the like had happened in thier most cruell executions, I noate not. Yet can I not lett passe to relate that a Juishe woman of the greatest credett and welth in Constantinople was brought out of hir house and stabbed to death in the Viseroys yeard; thence, *by a window in the Serraglio wall, where the Grand Signior, Sultan Mahomet, stood to see, shee was* drawne with ropes to the publiquet place in the citie, and ther, betwene a peramide pillor erected by Theodotious and the brasen tripled serpent, laid for the doggs to eate, who did devoure hir all save the bones, senowes of her legges, and soules of hir feete. Hir head<sup>3</sup> had bine caried uppon a pike throughe the citie, and alike hir shamefull part; also many smaule peces of hir fleshe, which the Turks, jane-saries, and others caried aboute tied in a little packethred, shewinge to the Jewes and others, and in dirision said: Behould the whores fleshe. One slice of hir I did so see passe by our house in Galata. Hir eldest sonn<sup>4</sup> in like manner the next day

<sup>1</sup> William Barlow became Bishop of Rochester in 1605, was translated to Lincoln in 1608, and died in 1613.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>3</sup> 'Master Henry Lillo (the ambassadour) and myselfe went of purpose, and thus did see these two, mother and sonne' (note in Purchas).

<sup>4</sup> 'He was a goodly gentleman Jew. Some few dayes before, I had shewed him our ship, and had talked with him at his mothers house; and Master Paul Pinder and myselfe were with his mother, to whom shee delivered (for the ambassadour to send the Queene) a stafana of rabines from the Sultana, and another of diamonds from herselfe (with teares in her eyes, I well remember)' (note in Purchas). 'Stafana' seems to be derived from the Greek στέφανος, a 'crown,' meaning here a tiara. 'Rabine' is probably the Italian *rubino*, 'a ruby.'

[was] cruelly stabbed and murdered in the said Viseroyes court, dragged thence, and laid by his mother; but was so fatt and ranke that the doggs would not cease uppon him, or else they were siasiate with the womans flesh the day before (*who was a short, fat trubkin*<sup>1</sup>). So together with his mothers bones the next day was this bodie burned *in that place*. Hir second sonn became Turke to save his life; so would his dead brother, yf he could have had the favoure. The third sonn, a younge youth, thier wrath beinge apeased, they permitted to live. This was an acte of the Spahies, in spight of the Great Turkes mother; for by the hands of this Jewe woman she toke all hir bribes, and hir sonns weare Chefe Customers of Constantinople, who toke all the gainefull busines into thier owne hands, doinge what they lusted. The mother and childerin weare wourth millians, which all went into the Great Turkes cofers<sup>2</sup>.

After this thier Mala Pasqua<sup>3</sup> (for it was at thier time of Pass-over, the chefest feast of the Jewes), after this the Spahies had a great flinge at the head of the Capi Aga<sup>4</sup>, who was the Great Turkes chefe servant and favorite; but by means partlie of the Admirall Sigalloglie, alias Sinan Bassa Vizier<sup>5</sup>, and 50,000 ducketts of mony emongest them, they weare for that time

<sup>1</sup> A rare word, meaning a little, squat woman. The example in the text is the only one quoted in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. A detailed account of the murders is given in a letter from Lello, dated 29 March, 1600, in *S.P., Turkey*, vol. iv. See also Sanderson's letter of the following day (p. 201).

<sup>2</sup> See Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 639. He says that three of the Jewess's sons were killed, and that the confiscation of her estate produced not less than five millions of aspers. Conisby (see later) agrees with Sanderson's account, except that he says it was the third son who turned Turk, while the second fled away and could not be found.

<sup>3</sup> Disastrous Easter (Ital.).

<sup>4</sup> The *Qapu Agha* (or *Aghasi*), or 'general of the gate,' was the head of the staff of the principal palace (see Lybyer, p. 126).

<sup>5</sup> For the romantic history of Cigala-oghlu see Creasy, p. 373, and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (under 'Cighalezāde'). His original name was Scipio Cigala or Cicala, and he belonged to a noble Genoese family settled in Sicily. Together with his father he was captured by the Turks while still a youth, and, his father having died in prison, he was easily persuaded to embrace Islam and to enter the imperial service. Adopting the name of Sinān, he distinguished himself in various campaigns; and in 1596, as we shall see, he was mainly instrumental in gaining the victory of Keresztes. Thereupon he was appointed Grand Vizier, but he was removed a month later, owing to the discontent excited by his severity to the troops. He was given his old post of Qapudān Pasha (Grand Admiral) and retained this for several years. His death occurred in 1605.

pasified; but since my comminge away it is written me that they have gott his head and the heads of one, two, or three more, and forced the Grand Signior to come forth and see the execution done.

I thinke not good heare (as I have said before) to note thier cruelltie in sondry sorts of executions; yett some I cannot lett passe. Thier usuall punishment for adulteruse women is bindinge in a sacke and so throwe them into the sea. Seven I have seene so used one morninge, in the time that the euenuke Hassan Bassa governed Constantinople, when the Great Turke was at the warrs. But for sutch creweltie and other actions the Queene Mother gott his head at hir sonns retorne<sup>1</sup>. The comonest death for men is gaunchinge<sup>2</sup>; which is to be stripped into thier linnen breches, with thier hands and feete bound all four together at thier backs, and so drawne up with a rope by a pullie uppon the gallowes and lett faule uppon a great iron hooke fastened to a lower crosse barr of the gallowes, most comonlie lightinge uppon thier flanke and so throughe thier thy. Ther they hange, sometim[e]s talkinge a day or two together. But yf they be gaunched throughe the belly and backe then ar they dead in two or three howers. Thus they use thier common theeves at Constantinople. In Cairo and other parts they stake them, *a most cruell death, yet speedie or lingring, as they list to execute*. But hanginge by the necke they use in a favoure to any offender who meriteth death; *yet sometimes cutting downe for dogges to eate*. They strangle with a bowestring thier bretherin<sup>3</sup>, bassaies, and other great men; but

<sup>1</sup> 'The Queene Mother, with the Grand Sultana and other of the Grand Signiors women, walking in their serraglio espyed a number of boates upon the river hurrying together. The Queene Mother sent to enquire of the matter; who was told that the Vizier did justice upon certaine chabies [*qahba*], that is, whoores. Shee, taking displeasure, sent word and advised the eunuch Bassa that her sonne had left him to governe the citie and not to devoure the women; commanding him to looke well to the other businesse and not to meddle any more with the women till his masters retorne' (note in Purchas).

The Queen Mother (*Sultana Valida*), known earlier as the Sultana Safiya, had been the favourite wife of Murād III. She was of Venetian origin (belonging to the noble house of Baffo), and had been captured when young. She played a commanding part during both reigns.

<sup>2</sup> This term, now obsolete, appears to be derived from the Ital. *ganciare*, to impale on hooks or stakes. For an account of this mode of punishment see Mundy (vol. 1, p. 55), who gives an illustration of it.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning the Sultan's brethren.



for thier religieuse men, faulse judges, thier lawe is to pashe [i.e. crush] them all to peces in a stone mortar with woodden malletts; *and for their false witnesses, they are set upon an asse, with their faces towards the tayle, which they hold in their hands, and the inwards of a bullocke powred upon and bound about them, and so ride they through the citie.* And for any found drunke in the time of thier Romasan [*Ramazān*], which is a fast they have one whole mone in the yeare, thier lawe is to melt a ladle full of lead and pore it downe thier throts. Thier manner of fast is [not] to eat nor drinke any thinge, nether water nor other, untill they see a starr appeare in the eveninge; *and then they may begin and eate till morning.* Any theefe<sup>1</sup> officer belonginge to thier artilarie is bound to the mouth of a brasse pece and so shott into the sea; thus I saw one used at *Tophana*<sup>2</sup>. And alike in my time a jamoglaine<sup>3</sup>, found drunke in thier fast, was used as I have reported. I did see uppon the gaunch Ussine Bassa, the trator that first risse in Asia<sup>4</sup>; but he, for a more cruelltie, had uppon each shoulderbone a muskell taken out, in presence of the bench of visreyes, the Great Turke also lokeinge out at a lattice over thier heads. By reason of that torment he died presentlie uppon the gaunch, beinge led frome the Seraglio half a mile or more before he was putt theron<sup>5</sup>.

Not long before that, a Christian tributary prince, cauled Stefano Vivoda<sup>6</sup>, beinge deposed of the Great Turke after he had

<sup>1</sup> Purchas made the passage clearer by altering it to 'any chiefe officer...if hee bee a thiefe.'

<sup>2</sup> See p. 14. 'Tophana is their artillerie yard, where is a great wharfe to take boate at. It is betweene Raphaghmak and Garlata' (note in Purchas). It was to the eastward of Galata. 'Raphaghmak' appears to be identical with 'Rapamat,' near Pera, from which Harborne dated his letters.

<sup>3</sup> Sandys (p. 37) has a long account of the 'Jemogians' (*Ajem oghlan*). They were the Sultan's slaves, compulsorily recruited from the children of his Christian subjects and made Muhammadans. After training they were assigned various employments, many of them being enrolled as janisaries. On this system see Lybyer, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Husein Pasha, who had been sent to Anatolia as inspector, had joined the rebel Kara Yazidji, and had been besieged with him in Urfa by the Sultan's troops. Kara Yazidji obtained favourable terms by surrendering his associate, who was thereupon taken to Constantinople and put to death.

<sup>5</sup> 'To see this, Master Lillo (the ambassadour) and myselfe went purposely, and did see him on the gaunch, beinge starke dead' (note in Purchas). Cf. Sanderson's letter of 6 February, 1600 (p. 191).

<sup>6</sup> Possibly an error for Alexander, the Waiwode (Governor) of Walachia,

injoyed the princedome a yeare, by mallice of some great men who prevailed with the Grand Signior, was brought to the gaunch, ledd of the Bustangiebassi [Bustānji bāshi]. This Bustangiebassi is a man of accompt about the Turke, and the great (but not the common) executioner<sup>1</sup>; for the Turke imploy[s] him in stranglinge viceroyes, throwinge by night rebellious soldiers into the sea, and sutchlike. Chiefe gardner is his office, havinge thowsands [of] jamoglaines and thier governors at his commaund. He kepethe the caikes<sup>2</sup>, and alwayes steereth when the Great Turke goeth uppon the water; whose caikes ar most ritch and bewetifull to behould, the poupe all ivory, ebonie, or of seahorse teeth, mother of pearle and gould, sett with all manner [of] pretious stones. To rowe him he hath 80 chosen men, two and two at an ower, 20 owers one a side, all in white shirts and redd capps, who often in thier rowinge barke like doggs<sup>3</sup>. The reason I knowe not, except it be when they heare him talke (to the Bustangiebassi, who sits at the rudder) that they dare not harken to his talke. His court of dwarfs and dum men alwayes folowe (except the very principall, who ar with him) in another caike; and many times also his women.

Now to the prince I spoke of. This poore prince intreated for life at the place of execution. The Bustangiebassi tould him, that yf he would become Turke, he should see what he would doe for him; wheruppon he turned, and uttered to such effect the

the hanging of whom is recorded in a letter from the Venetian Resident in April 1597 (*Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. ix, no. 568).

<sup>1</sup> 'Hee strangled Ferrat [Ferhad] Bassa in the Seven Towers. First, after hee had wakened the Bassa, he shewed a little testimony of his authoritie. Then turnes the wrong side of the carpet upwards. So the Bassa sayes his salah [i.e. prayer]. Then with a boxe on the eare hee astonishes [i.e. stuns] him; and the jemoglans come in presently and strangle him. The Bustangi Bassi found but sixtie chequins in his pocket, and so thence departed' (note in Purchas). Ferhad Pasha had been Grand Vizier in 1591-92, and was again appointed in 1595. In a few months, however, he was dismissed, imprisoned, and finally strangled in July, 1595. See Von Hammer (vol. II, p. 603).

<sup>2</sup> State barges (*qayiq*).

<sup>3</sup> 'I have often heard them upon the water. Now and then between times many of them say *Bough*, *boughwahe*, *bough*, *bough*, *boughwahe*, etc.; and then pull some few strokes and tut againe' (note in Purchas). 'Tut' seems to be the past tense of 'toot,' used in the old sense of 'to cry aloud.' Robert Withers (Purchas, vol. II, p. 1603) says the rowers 'fall a howling like little dogs,' in order to avoid hearing the Sultan's conversation.

wourds<sup>1</sup>, beinge content, rather then die, to be Turke (which they caule Musulman); which done, this cruell dogge tould him that *hee was glad* he would die in the right belieffe, and therfore, wheareas he should have bine gaunched, nowe he shalbe but hanged by the necke; wherat the poore soule presentlie repented and cried often and alowde uppon Christ, and bad all wittnes that he died a Christian. Heare I leve them to thier cruelltie.

Nowe the 14th of May 1601 I departed for Sidon in the ship Mermaid; with [*read which*] my voyadge to Damascus and the Holie Land, and so over the hiest mount of Libanus to Tripolie, beinge just three monethes, I leave to be sene in that my discourse. At Tripolie for passadge I remained untill the 16 of Febreuary; in which time our people of the *Trojan* passed some troble in that bad governed place. *Our men of the ship Trojan were most of them imprisoned in Tripoly jayle (the castle), and five were in great hazard to have beene executed; for the Emiers people accused them to have robbed a caramisall of the Emers of sope and other merchandise. But (as God would have it) the Cadie of Tripoly, being a greenhead<sup>2</sup> (that is, one, a holy man, of the parentage of Mahomet their prophet), who came passenger with me to Sidon in the Mermaid from Constantinople, he and his having beene well entreated in that voyage, together with my very often and earnest solicitation, did to his utmost power favour our people, so effectually that every one of them were freed, without further harme, from those false accusing Moores.*

The 10th day the shipp Trogian was caste awaye uppon the rocks in the road of Tripolie *by boysterous billowes that broke her anchors and shov'd her on the shoare*. I say, the 16th I departed in the Edward Bonaventure. Came to Scandarone the 19th. Frome thence the 14th of May 1602. To Limiso [Limasol] in Siprus the 27th. And [the] 31th we parlied with two great shippes, Spaniards, and two frigotts. They durst not fight, but said they weare of Maulta. The 7th of June we espied seven gallies, which we imaged to be Spaniards, bond for Scandarona. Nowe we were as highe as the Seven Capes the 8th, and mett therabouts the

<sup>1</sup> 'Allah, Allah, ill lalah, etc.' (note in Purchas). This is, of course, the Muhammadan profession of faith.

<sup>2</sup> That is, a *sayyid* or descendant of Muhammad. These wore green turbans as a distinguishing mark.

Samuell. The 10th we passed by Roads; Scarpanto<sup>1</sup> the 11th; Candia the 12th; Cape Sapiencia, in the Morea, the 25th; Stravalia [Strivali], an iland, the 6th of Julie; at Zant the 8th we arived. Frome thence the 5th of August in the Cherubin to Corfu; the 14th frome thence; the 26th in Istria<sup>2</sup>; the 31th Ottrenta [Otranto]; the 7th of September Rovina; Pirensa; Citta Nova<sup>3</sup>, an ould wauled towne at the end of the gulfe; the 8th of September in Venis<sup>4</sup>.

The 15th<sup>5</sup> I departed to Castell Franco, Carpanett, Grenio, Burgo, river Trent, Neus<sup>6</sup>, Nimarke, passed l'Adise [Adige] the river, Bulsano, Clusa, Sterching, Matara, Churla, river Tine<sup>7</sup>, Mitebant, Ambergam, Sanger, Stadall, river Lighe [Lech], Osburge, alias Augosta [Augsburg], Susmerhausen, Leibham, Ulme, Getsinger, Blocheim, Stuchert, Diefenbrunt, Almatingen, Raesstat, Litstinal, Strosburge, Falsenburch, Caufman, Blanhburch, Luncvill, Porta di Saint Nicolo, Nancy, Tull, Sint Tobin, Bardoluck, Tanhuer, Russemason, Salon, Fonte Effael, Mommill, Butchier, Fuerti, Sant Giovan, Marne [river], Meau, Paris (*dico* Paris).

The 19th October frome Paris to St. Denis, to Puntoys, [and] the river of Alvais; the 20th to Maine [and] Equie; the 21th to Roan; to Deepe the 22th. The 23th frome thence in the Vauntgard of the Queens; the 24th to Dover; frome thence at eleven a clocke in the night; in London the 25th, beinge Monday in the afternone. For all which the Almightye God be magnified.

<sup>1</sup> Scarpanto or Karpathos, a large island south-west of Rhodes.

<sup>2</sup> Istria appears to be a mistake for some port in Albania.

<sup>3</sup> Rovigno, Parenzo, and Cittanuova are all on the west coat of Istria, in the Gulf of Venice.

<sup>4</sup> At f. 106 *a* the later stages are given as: '26th [August] we arived to Istria; the 31th to Citta Nova; the 8th September in Venis.'

<sup>5</sup> This overland journey is described in more detail in the next section, where the various stages are identified.

<sup>6</sup> Spelt Nevis later. Probably Lavis is intended.

<sup>7</sup> The Inn, which was crossed at Innsbruck.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE OVERLAND JOURNEY  
(f. 121 a)<sup>1</sup>

*The underwritten noate is of our voyadge frome Venis to Dover, kept by a Flanders gent. that came in our company.*

The route from Venetia to Augosta [Augsburg].

First day. By boat to Maestra, a village. 5 Italian miles. By coach or on horseback to Traviso, a town. 15 miles.

Second day. Castell Franco. 15 miles. Carpanetto, a village. 18 miles.

Third day. Grino, a village. 15 miles. Here the Venetian territory ends. Burg<sup>2</sup>, a large village. 10 miles. Here begins the county (*comitatus*) of Tirol in Germany.

Fourth day. Trento [Trient], a town. 18 miles. We left this on the left hand. By the town of Trento passes a most beautiful river, Ladisse, and goes on to Ferrara, where it unites with the river Po<sup>3</sup> (whence the rhyme: *Il Po non sarebbe Po, se Ladisse non gli diss' il so*). Nevis [Lavis]. 5 miles. Neumarch [Neumarkt]. 15 miles.

Fifth day. Bolsano [Botzen], a town. 15 miles. Clusa [Klausen], a town. 15 miles.

Sixth day. Stertinge [Sterzing]. 30 miles. Matera [Matrey]. 20 miles. Isburg<sup>4</sup>, a most beautiful town, the court of the Archduke Maximiliano, brother of the Emperor<sup>5</sup> and Count of Tijrole. The council chamber (*cancelaria*) has a roof of massy gold, made in this fashion<sup>6</sup>, the under surface being about three paces broad.

Seventh day. Tirole [Innsbruck]. 15 miles<sup>7</sup>. We passed the river Tine [Inn]. Charla [Scharnitz]. 10 miles. Mittebant [Mittenwald], a village. 20 miles.

<sup>1</sup> Not printed by Purchas. Save for the heading and final note, the text in the MS. is in Italian, mingled with Latin. A translation is therefore given, in which, however, the names are spelt as in the original.

<sup>2</sup> The first six stages are Mestre, Treviso, Castelfranco Veneto, Carpane, Grigno, and Borgo. Against the last item is written: 'Near this place is a very strong fortress, cut out of the mountain.' The reference is to the Roman military station of Burgum Ausugii.

<sup>3</sup> This is wrong. The Adige does not flow into the Po, nor does it get as far south as Ferrara.

<sup>4</sup> Innsbruck.

<sup>5</sup> Rudolph II.

<sup>6</sup> The sketch has not been reproduced. It is very rough.

<sup>7</sup> There is some confusion here. The entry seems to duplicate the last stage on the previous day (no mileage for which is given).

Eighth day. Ambergan [Ammergau]. 25 miles. Sanger [Schongau]. 20 miles. A very beautiful town, situated on a fine and smooth mountain of no great height, in the dominions of the Duke of Baviera [Bavaria]. The river Lech passes by it.

Ninth day. Lantsberch [Landsberg], a town. 20 miles. Stadell [Stadl], an inn (*osteria*). 10 miles. Augusta [Augsburg], a town. 20 miles.

This ninth day from Venetia ends in Augusta.

Route from Augusta to Strasburch.

First day. We set out from Augusta the 25th of the month [i.e. September], and arrived first at Susmerhausen [Zusmarshausen], where we dined. 3 German miles. Leibham [Leipheim], where we supped. 3 German miles.

Second day. Ulma [Ulm]. Here we dined. 3 miles. A fine town. The river Danubio runs round the walls of the town. Getsingen [Geislingen], where we supped. 3 miles.

Third day. Blochein [Plochingen]. Dined. 4 miles. Stuchert [Stuttgart]. Supped. 3 miles.

Fourth day. Diefenbrunt [Tieffenbron]. Dined. 3 miles. Almatingen [Ellmending]. Supped. 2 miles.

Fifth day. Raesstat [Rastatt]. Dined. 3 miles. Litsinhal [Lichtenau]. Supped. 3 miles.

30 September. Straesburch [Strasbourg]. Dined. 3 miles. A most beautiful town, with three bulwarks [*bolliuardi*] and walls round it, and with a tower<sup>1</sup> of marvellous height and excellent workmanship. A little before we reached the city we passed over the river Rheno by a bridge of wood, half an Italian mile in length.

The route from Argentina<sup>2</sup> to Paris through Loreijna [Lorraine].

First day. Elszakabre, in Latin Tapernae Aurum<sup>3</sup>. 4 German miles. A strong town in the bishopric of Argentina, and now

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the tower of the cathedral.

<sup>2</sup> Strasbourg, the Argentoratum of the Romans.

<sup>3</sup> Zabern (of Alsace), which is supposed to stand on the site of Tres Tabernae. Its château was the summer residence of the Bishops of Strasbourg. 'Aurum' is a puzzle; but possibly the traveller took the name from some inscription in which it appeared in the genitive case (Tabernarum).

under the Cardinal of Loreiina. Falsenburch [Pfalzburg]. The first village in the dukedom of Loreijna.

Second day. Caufman Sarbuc [Saarebourg], a town. 2 miles. Blanhenburch [Blamont ?]. 3 miles. A very strong castle.

Third day. Luncvijn [Lunéville], a strong town. 4 miles. Porta di St. Nicolao [St. Nicolas du Port], a town. 2 miles.

Fourth day. Nancy, a very strong town. 2 miles. The capital of the duchy of Loreijna. Tull [Toul], a town. 4 miles. The river Mosaele runs by it.

Fifth day. Sint Tobyn [St. Aubin], a town. 6 miles.

Sixth day. Barloduck [Bar-le-Duc], a town. 4 miles. Two miles from which Loreina ends, and we enter the kingdom of Francia, in the province called Scampania, I say Shampanie [Champagne]. Tanhuer, an inn. 4 miles.

Seventh day. Russe Mason, an inn. 2 miles. Salon [Châlons-sur-Marne], a large and very strong town. 7 miles. The river Marn passes under its walls.

Eighth day. Fonte Effaell, a village. 8 miles. Here ends Scampania, and the province of Beij [Brie] begins. Marvil [Mareville-en-Brie]. Mommirel [Montmirail], a town. 5 miles.

Ninth day. Butschier [Bussièrès], an inn. 6 miles. Fuerti [La Ferté sous Jouarre], a fine village. 4 miles. We left it on the right hand. Sant Gion [St. Jean], a village. 2 miles.

Tenth day. The Marne river. One mile. This we passed in a boat. Meaw [Meaux], a very fine and strong town in Francia. One mile. Paris, the royal city. 10 miles.

The route from Paris in Franza to Londra in Inghilterra, by way of Diepe.

First day. Pontoiss [Pontoise], a very strong town. The river Lege [l'Oise] runs by it. Here begins Normandia. We passed the river three times by boat. Alojisa. 7 miles.

Second day. Mangi [Magny]. 7 miles. Ecoups [Ecouie], a village. 7 miles.

Third day. Roan [Rouen], a town. 7 miles.

Fourth day. Toto [Totes], a village. 6 miles. Diepe [Dieppe], a fine town. 6 miles. We embarked for the castle of Dover.

Fifth day. Dover. 25 miles.

The journey of Messrs. Davis and Sanderson, Englishmen, together with Master Corneglio, Fleming<sup>1</sup>.

To the distinguished gentleman Roberto Kempe<sup>2</sup>.

Apeareth frome Venis to Osburge in 8 [*sic*] dayes; Osburge to Strosborg, 6; Strosborg to Paris, 10; Paris to Dover, 5. [Total] 29 dayes. Per me, John Sanderson.

# HIS PILGRIMAGE TO THE HOLY LAND, 1601

(f. 127 a)<sup>3</sup>

The 14th day of May 1601 we sett saile in the good shipp cauled the Mermaid frome Constantinople. So to Galipolie, Troy, Sio, Roads; and the first day of June arived at Zure<sup>4</sup>, which is Tirus. Passed by Sarfanta<sup>5</sup> (in time past Sarepta). Anchored and went ashore at Sidon (nowe cauled Saiset<sup>6</sup>), wheare the 3d. of the same we visited the sepulcre of Zebulon, Sophoni the Profitt, and Basaleel, which built the arke, buried half a dayes jorny frome Sidon.

The 9th I departed, in companie of Jewes, and arived in Damasco the 12th, passinge by Samcania, Baruck, Hermiston, Libiton: four mountaynes so cauled<sup>7</sup>. The 19th I went to a towne within three miles of Damasco, nowe cauled Jobar Asladi<sup>8</sup>, wheare Elias did anoynt Azaell, Jehu, and Elisha. The Jewes hould that, like as in Mount Horeb, so heare, Elias hid himselfe in a rocke frome Jesabell; wheare also (they say) the ravins fedd him. Heare is built a sinagoge of the Jewes, in which is solemlic reserved thier chefest auntient written books; and thether they

<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known about Sanderson's two companions.

<sup>2</sup> Kemp, it appears from the correspondence given later, was a Norfolk gentleman who visited Venice with introductions from Sanderson. Presumably this itinerary was furnished to him for his guidance. A letter to him from Sanderson, written some time in 1604, concerning his proposed journey, will be found at f. 343 b.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. II, p. 1629. Passages italicized in the present text appear only in Purchas's version.

<sup>4</sup> Arabic Sūr, Hebrew Zōr.

<sup>5</sup> Sarafand.

<sup>6</sup> Arabic Saida. The tomb of Zebulon (to the south-east of the city) is still visited by Jews. 'Sophoni' is a form of Zephaniah.

<sup>7</sup> 'Samcania' is a mystery. The other ranges appear to be (Jebel el) Bārūk, Hermon and Lebanon.

<sup>8</sup> Jöbar, north-east of Damascus. The synagoge is still standing.



goe to wourshipp with great devotion. The somptiouesest matter to be noted is the church, which hath twelve gates of brasse, *excellent Corinthian metall, the middle one of each three being bigger and higher then the two on each side*, cureouslie wrought. It is now cauled Bedremon. Heare it was that the idole Rimmon was wourshipped. It is just square; three dores one each side. Any man may passe by the dores (beinge they ar open to four publique places), but not any enter other then ar of the Mahumettan religion. Many pillors ther ar, but two espetiallie noted above the rest, in respect of some passed matter. Hether it was that Naaman the Assirian desiered the Profitt Elisha, after he had bine healed of his leprosie, to license him to bringe frome Samaria (which at this day is cauled Shomrom), the said Profitts contry, two mules ladinge of holie land, to build an alter unto God; which the Profitt denied him not. And ther ar also four rivers, cauled Barada, Towra, Yesed<sup>1</sup>, Canavat; two of which ar Abana and Pharpar, which Naaman said (murmoringlie) weare fairer then all the rivers of Isaraell, when the Profitt bad him goe wash himselfe in Jordan to heale his disease.

I remained ten dayes in Damasco, by reason that my ritch companion Jewe bespake mutch marchandies<sup>2</sup> to be redy at his retorne, and left ther ten or twelve thousand duc[a]ts of gould, which for suer convayance he had caried quilted in his owne and servants undergarments. All he left in a frends hands, except two or three thousand which he spent of almes and disboursed for books in the Holie Land; that mony he reserved still in thier quilted coats, fearinge theeves, who abound in those contries.

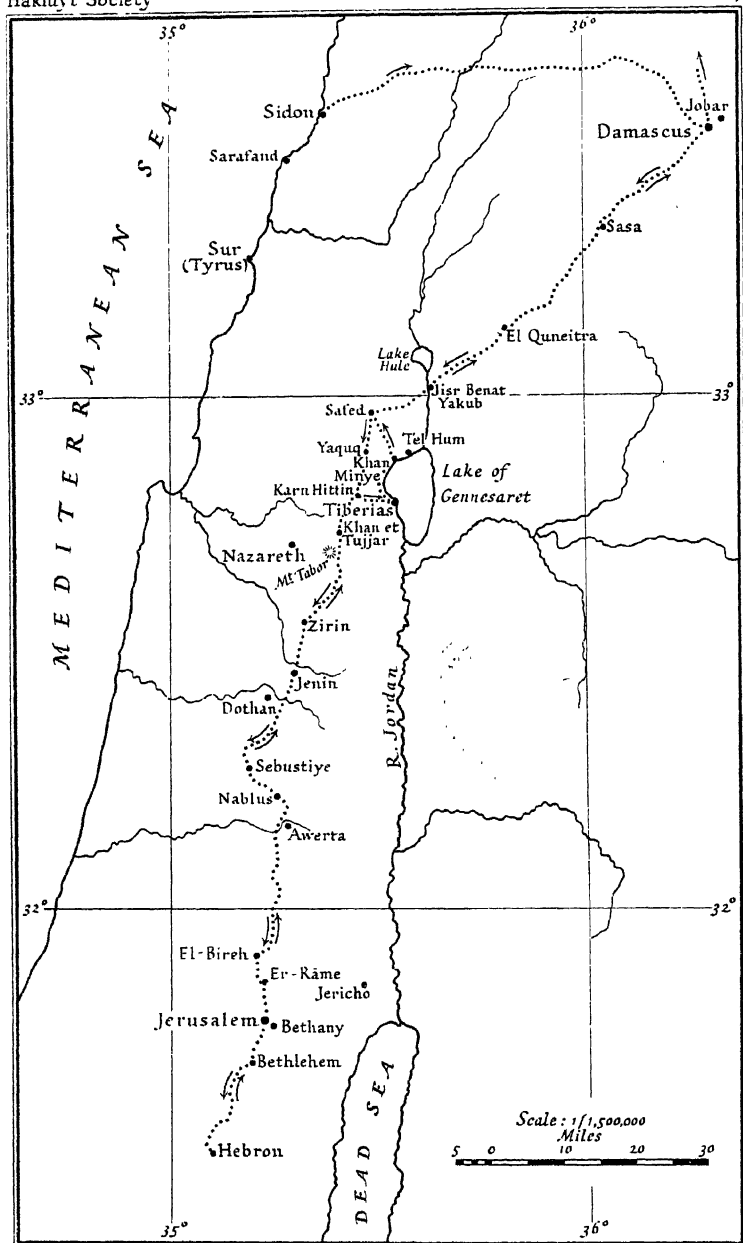
Frome Damascus to Sasa<sup>3</sup> the 22th [June]. So to Conetra<sup>4</sup>, neare Mount Hermon, whose eastermost part confineth the contry of Ruben and Gad. Then to Naub, the contry wheare was boarne the virgin Ebrewe whome Naaman had taken captive. She counseled that hir master should goe and be cured of the

<sup>1</sup> Barada (Abana), Tōra and Jezīd (two branches of the Barada), and possibly the Nahr el A'waj (which is identified as the Pharpar).

<sup>2</sup> 'Silke girdles, shashes, bodkins, etc., fit to sell in Sio and Natolia' (Sanderson's note in Purchas).

<sup>3</sup> Sa'sa', 30 kilometres south-west of Damascus. See Della Valle's account of it (vol. I, p. 371).

<sup>4</sup> El Quneitra, another 30 kilometres.





Profitt in Shomrom. Heare likewise I sawe the lake (I could not be certified the name; it is in the contry of the Gergesites) wheare the legion of devells entered into the swine. Then to the bridge uppon Jordan<sup>1</sup>. One the right hand is the little sea Cadis<sup>2</sup>; one the left, Geneserett<sup>3</sup>. A little one this side that bridge (as the Jewes to me reported) the Angell wresteled with Jacob, after he had passed over his wifes, childeren, familie, and cattell, fearefullie meetinge his brother Esaw, who receaved him kindlie.

Then we came to a mountayne which they cauled Mount Canaan, and one the bacsides of that mountayne, toward the right hand, came to the highe contry of Galali [i.e. Galilee]; passed by some townes and so to a citie cauled Safett<sup>4</sup>, the 24th of June. Heare the Jewes looke for thier Messias to apeare uppon a most highe mountayne adjoyning, *which (as I remember) they called Mount Caram. Heere on this Mount Canan Mahaleel, a Jew priest that had beene about ingathering (he told me he had got but five hundred chequins in gold, and had them about him) for the Jewes of the Holy Land, did bid mee marke the current of the river Jordan, which seemed to stand and slowly beare towards Tiberias and Sodome, but withall a forceable current did runne in the middest backe againe towards the bridge, and so to fall into Cades, towards Jor and Dan, from whence the whole river of Jordan doth take his increase.*

In this citie of Safett ar all the most learned and devout Jewes, and heare ar six coledges or scoles of lerninge. This they caule the Howse of God, and many adged goe purposelie to die ther. This is Bethell, wheare Jacob slept and dreamed in the way he went to serve his uncle Laban; afterward retorned, dwelt ther, and built an alter to the Lord. The citie of ould was cauled Lus. Built it is one the topp of a highe mountayne, and compassed about with many mountaynes which ar both highe and steepe; but the hiest is that adjoyning, wheare I say they afferme the

<sup>1</sup> 'This bridge (as I doe remember) is strong built of stone (some bricke) and hath seven or eleven arches, as I remember' (note in Purchas). It is the Jisr Benāt Ya'kūb, or Bridge of Jacob's Daughter, and has four arches, three of which are old. Della Valle describes it (vol. 1, p. 370).

<sup>2</sup> Lake Hūle (Waters of Merom).

<sup>3</sup> The Sea of Galilee (Lake of Tiberias or Gennesaret).

<sup>4</sup> Safed, 20 kilometres north of Tiberias.

Messias will come. One the topp of the mountayne where this citie is, is the execeedingest ould castell<sup>1</sup> that I have seene, except a part of that at Hebron and alike [i.e. also] the ruins of Tiberious, wheare I was at my retorne frome Jerusalem. At the foote of the said citie Safett is interred the profitt Osea, sonne of Beerī, first of the twelve profitts (so say the Jewes<sup>2</sup>). Over his sepulcre is built a cube, not very ould; and the Jewes now doe bury thier dead at that place.

Then we passed by a little villadge wheare dwelt and is buried the profitt Abicoke; so said the Jewes, and that the towne was cauled Yeacoke<sup>3</sup>. Thence we came to a villadge called Cefferhittim<sup>4</sup>, where (they said) is buried Jethro, the father in lawe of Moses. Then we came to Aiontosar<sup>5</sup>, at the foote of Mount Tabor<sup>6</sup> (one topp of which mount Our Savior Jesus Christ transfiguered himselfe, talkinge with Elias and Moses; with him was Peter, J[a]mes, and John); levinge one the right hand the place wheare was the warrs of Sicera with Debora, and one the left the river Chison<sup>7</sup>. Sicera fled to Sefferhittim, wheare Jaell killed him. And frome thence by a villadge cauled Zarni. The place is cauled Isarell<sup>8</sup>. So we passed the vallie of Jesserell (heare Jehu fought the battaile with Ahabs sonn). So we came to Jenin<sup>9</sup>, of ould time Ingenin, interpreted is Paradice; so pleasaunt is that place and citation that well it may be cauled Paradice. It may be assueredlie compared to the citie of palme trees spoken of in Scripture, so pleasaunt and prospective it is, with also woudds of very many palme trees replenished<sup>10</sup>.

The 26th we passed by Dotana<sup>11</sup>, in Scripture cauled Dotan or Dothan, the place where Josipthe[s] bretherin cast him into the pitt. Frome thence passed the mountayns of Gilboa<sup>12</sup>, wheare

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of this castle are still visible.

<sup>2</sup> A Jewish tradition to this effect is mentioned in Cheyne and Black's *Encyclo. Biblica*, s.n.

<sup>3</sup> Yāqūq.

<sup>4</sup> 'At Sefferhittim we reposed the heate of that day' (note in Purchas). It is Karn Hittin, ten kilometres west of Tiberias. Jethro's tomb is still pointed out by the Jews.

<sup>5</sup> Khān et Tujjār.

<sup>6</sup> Jebel et Tūr.

<sup>7</sup> The Nahrel Muqatta'.

<sup>8</sup> Jezreel. The town is now called Zir'in.

<sup>9</sup> Jenin, 25 kilometres north of Nāblus. Its Hebrew name is 'Ein Gannim. See Della Valle's account of the town (vol. 1, p. 363).

<sup>10</sup> 'But the valley wherein Damascus is built is much more fairer to the eye, pleasanter, and larger' (note in Purchas).

<sup>11</sup> Tel Dōthān.

<sup>12</sup> Now known as the Jebel Faqqū'a.

Saule and his sonns weare slaine. One the right hand *a farre off* we sawe the Sea [of] Palestine [i.e. the Mediterranean]. Thence we passed a place nowe cauled Sabastia<sup>1</sup>, in Scripture Shomrom, that is Samaria, citie of Ahab; a pleasaunt citiation one the topp of a mountayne, but not very highe.

Frome thence to Sichem<sup>2</sup>, the 28th of the same, which is cituate betwene two mountaynes, Mount Geresin (that is, the Mount of Blessinge) and Mount Eball (that is, the Mount of Curssinge). Even betwene thes two mountaynes, a little before we come to the citie, is a great conduct of very good water; twenty paces before which is a pece of ground marked out by two short pillors of plaine white marble. Ther was some noteable thinge done in Moses or Josias time; else [i.e. in addition] I suppose ther stoad the stone whearone the 70 heads of Ahabs sonns, Abimilecks brothers, weare piled. Betwene the said mountaynes, at the eastermost of them, is interred Josiphthes bones<sup>3</sup>; wheare the Jewes prayed (as alike at all the sepulcers they went to visitt). And about five miles of, neare to a village cauled Avarta<sup>4</sup>, ar buried uppon a hill one the mount<sup>5</sup>, emongest the mountaynes of Efraim, the two sonns of Aron, Eliazer and Ithamar, and Phinias, the sonn of Eliazer. And hard by, uppon another hill, ar the 70 Auntients buried<sup>6</sup>, all in one plott, one cave, one sepulcre. Thes Auntients of Isarell ar spoken of in Scripture. Also, some two miles further, neare the topp of one [of] the hiest [of the] said mountaynes of Efraim, is the sepulcre of Josua<sup>7</sup>, kept by the Moores, as the others ar. *This we did very well discern*. The Jewes at all pay pole pence, some more, some lesse, to the Moores before they be permitted to say thier ceremonies.

<sup>1</sup> Sebustiye, ten kilometres from Nāblus. Its Hebrew name is Shōmrōn. Della Valle visited it (vol. 1, p. 361).

<sup>2</sup> 'At Sichem wee lodged, both at our going and at our returne from Jerusalem' (note in Purchas). The modern name is Nāblus. Mount Gerizim (Jebel et Tūr) is on the south of the town, and Mount Ebal (Sleimīye) on the north.

<sup>3</sup> The tomb of Joseph is still pointed out.

<sup>4</sup> 'Awerta. The tombs of Eleazar and Phinehas are near there.

<sup>5</sup> 'Here all the Jewes of our company prayed very devoutly' (note in Purchas).

<sup>6</sup> 'As the Jew to me reported' (note in Purchas).

<sup>7</sup> The reputed grave of Joshua is at Tibneh, about 17 miles south-west of Nāblus.

The 30th of June we came to Beira<sup>1</sup>, in Scripture cauled Beroth, in the contry of Benjamin. This citie is five miles short of Jerusalem. Rama<sup>2</sup> is to be deserned three or four miles one the right hand goinge to Jerusalem. This day we arived in Jerusalem. Uppon highe ground we hadd travailed when we drewe neare the citie. Though most of the way weare rockie and stony, yet now we might evedentlie see a signe of a longe broad highway, all cragged with cornered defused stones that no beast could travaile over. So that alonge hard by the said waye throughe the fields all travellers passe; yet that also very stony and craggedd, but they ar not so bigge as those one the foresaid highwaye. Then, beinge within a mile, we had sight of Jerusalem; which to our wewe [i.e. view] was most exelentlie situated one hills and compassed with other hudge hills round aboute, some neare, some many miles of. The adornement of waters it waunteth, for ther ar not any bewtifull neare it. Jordan onely we might see a great waye of; which Jordaine is northeast of Jerusalem, about nine or ten miles the nearest part. Eastward Jordaine passeth the Lake of Sodom and Gomorra, and so com-mith alonge towards Jerusalem, which is some 15 or 16 miles of. So we entered at the gate openinge to Damasco<sup>3</sup>, which I take to be south and to the westward.

The second of July we went to Rama, to the profitt Samwell his house, wheare the Jewes say he is buried<sup>4</sup>. Uppon the topp of the said house is the place wheare the Childerin of Isarell had thier haire cutt of, at which time they *made vowes* [and] gave great somms to the Sanctorum<sup>5</sup>. At this day ther ar of the Jewes that wowe [i.e. vow] and performe, carie[i]ng thier childerin to have thier haire cutt ther for devotion. One the right hand is a well, which is cauled Samwells Well. Other matters I observed not.

<sup>1</sup> El-Biréh. 'Here we rested two or three houres. Old great stony ruines of a citie. No inhabitants there. And many other ruined places wee travelled over, where had beene townes, but now were cragged stones, and here and there some plots of ground where they sowed corne. Bread very plentie and cheape in the citie of Jerusalem and all places that we came at in the Holy Land, and also at Damascus and all Sirria over' (note in Purchas).

<sup>2</sup> Er-Rāme.

<sup>3</sup> The Damascus Gate (Bāb el-'Amūd) is on the northern side of the city.

<sup>4</sup> En Nabi Samweil, ten kilometres north-west of Jerusalem.

<sup>5</sup> Holy place (*sanctuarium*).

Many and sondry ruinated (both great and smaule) townes I passed in the Holy Land, both outward and back againe, which to my desier I could not be informed the names of; but may be imagined by thes nominated in the tediousse jorney I made<sup>1</sup>.

In Jerusalem is a little part of the waule of Salamons temple<sup>2</sup> (so say the Jewes). Under the said pece of waule is the place wheare the Highe Prest went to washe himselfe. Within is a stone 26 braces longe and 12 broad<sup>3</sup>. In that temple the Greeks say that the Holy Gost came to the Apostells. In thes times no Christian nor Jewe [is] suffered to enter that church one paine of death. A broad goinge up ther is also of marble stepps, and one the topp of the stayers two white marble pillours, not very bigge. Uppon thes stepps none dare come, except Turks and Moores of the best accompt. This is ther held by Christians of the place to be Salamons Porch. The mount one which the temple<sup>4</sup> is built is cauled in Greeke *Thesia to Abrack*<sup>5</sup> (wheare Abraham would have sacrificised his sonn). This is Mount Morea; wheare to this day, I say, is cuerouslie kept part of Salamons temple; the Turks havinge bestowed very great cost in rebuildinge and leadinge it

<sup>1</sup> 'Yea, a very chargeable and dangerous journey; for had not Rabby Abraham Coen, the principalls [*sic*], and the other Jewes also favoured and much regarded me, I had beene singled out by some villanous Moores of our owne company, who grudged at me, and at last one of them, that we had hired our mules of, did punch at me with a staffe, reviling me with *Bre hanzier gouer* [*bre khansir giaour*, hi! pig of an unbeliever], saying that I had beene the cause that Maronits (the Christians of Mount Libanus) had broke the head of a janizarie, who by the way fell into our company, having beene at Mecca. Of this janizarie over night they [the Maronites ?] had asked a little gunpowder; which he deeming [denying ?], they met him on the hill in the morning and did sore wound him. The Turkes did marke that those Christians had been kinde to me; therefore by that one old collericke fellow I did with patience pocket some abuse, though no great hurt. Abuse for the present; but at Tripoly the Jewes so handled this businesse, putting the Moore in a great feare that I would complaine to the Bassa; so that in their presence the Moore prayed mee of pardon, and withall did bow downe and kist my hand, seeming sorry he had so abused me. Nay, very sure I am that he did repent. So I forgave him; and hee afterward did bring me a present of fruit and flowers' (note in Purchas).

<sup>2</sup> The 'Wailing Wall,' of which so much has been heard in recent controversies.

<sup>3</sup> The great wall of the Haram enclosure contains some gigantic stones (Watson, p. 299).

<sup>4</sup> The Dome of the Rock, often termed (incorrectly) the Mosque of Omar.

<sup>5</sup> The text in Purchas has *Thusia tou Abram*. The first word is *θυσία*, an offering. For the tradition that Mount Moriah, the scene of Abraham's sacrifice, was the hill upon which Solomon built his temple, see Watson, p. 14.



all over. It is formed one part a round cube<sup>1</sup>; close to which cube goeth, as it weare ascendinge, a long ridge of buildinge comparable to the eastermost part of Poules<sup>2</sup>, but seemeth somewhat broader and flatter, with the leads more cheverned<sup>3</sup> and of a deeper wourke; and at the end a proportionate forme, seeminge higher then the rest of the leaded wourke.

Jerusalem hath onelie four gates; at one of which<sup>4</sup> is the Tower of David, wheare he fell inamored with Bersaba, as those fondlinges say. Without the said gate, a stones cast frome the corner of the waule, one the top of Mount Sion<sup>5</sup> ar buried David, Salamon, and most of the kinges of Juda. Heare nether Jewes nor Christians ar suffered to enter, nether permitted to come neare the waules in sight of Turks and Moores. Sutch as peradventure doe ar forced to pay soms of mony to thier uttermost abilitie. One the outside of the foresaid *piece of the cities* waule appeareth a part (as the Jewes to me reported) of the ould waule of the studie of Salamon; uppon one of the stones whearof is written in Ebrewe letters carved<sup>6</sup>; it is *Bitti*, which interpreted is to say: 'My House.'

Heare for two dayes I left the company of my great companion Jewe; and had attendant one me a Greekish preest, which the Patriarke commaunded to shewe me all the noteable places in and aboute Jerusalem and Bethelēm. This holie preest had continewed one whole yeare in the church wheare they say Our Saviour was buried, and for that space never came out night nor

<sup>1</sup> Sandys (p. 150) describes the building as 'an eight square round, of a blewish stone, adorned with adjoining pillars and tarrased above.' With our author's account of the various holy places may be compared that given by Della Valle (vol. 1, pp. 308 *et seq.*).

<sup>2</sup> Meaning of course (old) St Paul's in London.

<sup>3</sup> A chevron is a zigzag ornament to buildings.

<sup>4</sup> The Jaffa Gate, on the west side. Just inside are the remains of a tower built by Herod, but called the Tower of David.

<sup>5</sup> The original Mount Sion was the hill, on the eastern side of the city, where now stands the Dome of the Rock, but in course of time the name was transferred to the hill on the western side, referred to in the text. David and Solomon are believed to have been buried on the eastern hill, but the sites are unknown. The comparatively modern Moslem building known as the Coenaculum, just outside the Sion Gate, is traditionally known as the Tomb of David. Sandys (p. 136) describes the tombs of the Kings of Judah on the north-west of the city. These are still visited.

<sup>6</sup> The scratches inserted by Sanderson bear but a distant resemblance to the Hebrew word, which (as Dr Barnett tells me) should be בֵּיתִי (*bēthī*).

day; so doing of his owne will, onely in devotion. He chefelie attended me, with other Greeke friers at my pleasure; likewise also a poore Jewe of Jerusalem, whome I hiered to be still with me, partlie to interprett, for the frier Greeks speake but meane Italian, and myselfe understand but little Greeke. First the colioro<sup>1</sup> went and shewed me the gate wheare Our Savioure entered when they cried: *Hosanna efsemati*<sup>2</sup>. After which we wewed [i.e. viewed] Caifas pallas<sup>3</sup>, Pilates pallas, the ruins remaininge as nowe they say<sup>4</sup>, and alike the marble pillors of divers coullours at which Christ was whipped. It standith distant frome the house. Over the waye we passe throughe somewhat highe a place neare to that, wheare was a water cauled Pronatichi Colinithra, a mervailouse great drie ditch, which came to the prisson or deepe durtie dongion whearin the Jewes princes in Zedichias time caused Jeramia the profit to be putt. He found favoure of the Kinges chiefe enewcke, a blackemore, who drewe him out; he standinge half way in the mudd, as by the Scripture appeareth. Thes Greeks hould that he was thrown emongest lions, who licked him instead of devouering, and that at last the Jewes caused him to be sawed in sonder.

Then went we to the Virgin Maries sepulcer<sup>5</sup>, a space without the waules of the citie, in a little chappell, goinge downe many stepps; the stayers very broad. One the right hand, as it weare half the stepps downe, lieth buried hir father and hir mother; the Virgin belowe in a rome apart, whearin weare onelie seven

<sup>1</sup> 'Grecian monks, whom they call coloieros' (Sandys, p. 64). See the *Oxford Eng. Dic.*, s.v. 'caloyer.' It appears to be derived from the late Greek *καλόγῆρος*, 'venerable.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Efsemati' is explained by Mr A. G. Ellis as representing the Arabic *fī's-samawāt*, 'in the heavens,' making the phrase equivalent to our 'Hosanna in the highest.' Sanderson's guide was a Greek priest, and Mr Ellis tells me that the mother tongue of the Orthodox Greek community in Syria and Palestine was Arabic.

<sup>3</sup> The Armenian building containing a small chapel, known as the House of Caiaphas, stands a little way outside the Sion Gate.

<sup>4</sup> 'Without all question the castle of Antonia, near adjoining to the wall of the Temple, where now the Sanziack hath his residence; deprived of those lofty towers and scarce appearing above the walls that confine it' (Sandys, p. 150). The fortress of Antonia, probably built by Herod, and destroyed after the siege of Titus, is supposed to have stood at the north-west angle of the Temple enclosure; part of the site was later occupied by the Turkish barracks.

<sup>5</sup> In the valley of the Kedron, on the east of the city. The church is now underground, owing to the accumulation of earth around it.

lamps burninge<sup>1</sup>. Hir stone is of streked marble of divers colours—grene, blacke, ash collour—uppon hir tombe, which is not so highe as a mans waist frome the ground. My Greeke priest shewed great devotion at this sepulchre; so did he at the place wheare Our Saviour sweat water and blod, and at the Ascention place one topp of Mount Olivett. A well of good water is also at the foote of the stayers.

Then to the place wheare St. Steven was stoned<sup>2</sup>. The Greeks say Our Saviour had mad him an archdeacon. So to Jesami<sup>3</sup>, whear Christ was in a blouddie sweat; heare I prayed. And likewise I sawe the place wheare the Apostells slept. Then to the place wheare He taught His desiples the Pater Noster (the Greeks caule it Pateremos), and wheare He stoad when He wept over Jerusalem<sup>4</sup>; and the place wheare He was betrayed by that reprobate servant Judas. Then waulkinge further one the side of this Mount Olivett, we sawe the garden wheare Mary mett with Our Saviour after His resurrection. Frome this part of the mountayne is seene, afarr of, the Lake of Sodome [i.e. the Dead Sea], throughe the which runneth the river Jordan. Then to Orostoelo, the place of Christs asscention, which is one the very topp of this Mount Olivett; a stone yet remaininge wherin is the print of a foote<sup>5</sup>. All those Christians hould assueredlie that it is the signe of Our Saviours foote. Most formall and proportionable it is to be perceaved, but wourne mutch with the touthinge and kissinge of Christians. Heare I prayed, and hope My Saviour beheld me. The like square stone [of] white marble, wherin is the print of the other foote, was stowelne frome hence and caried to Rome (so say the Greeks).

Then to Bethfagie, the villadge wheare the coult was losed. Soe along over against it we came to Bethania<sup>6</sup> (the Greeks caule it Vithania). In this towne they also affirme that Our Saviour eat the Passover with His desiples. Heare was Lasarus rayسد, who

<sup>1</sup> 'These lamps did hang burning over the Virgins tombe' (note in Purchas). See Sandys's description of the sepulchre (p. 148).

<sup>2</sup> Outside the Damascus Gate, where now stands the church of St Stephen.

<sup>3</sup> The Garden of Gethsemane.

<sup>4</sup> 'A paved square, now a Mahometan oratory' (Sandys, p. 156). It is on the western slope of the Mount of Olives.

<sup>5</sup> See Sandys, p. 156. The stone is still exhibited in the mosque in the village of Kafr et Tūr, on the top of the Mount. Biddulph (p. 135) classes it among the 'manifest untruths' prevalent at Jerusalem.

<sup>6</sup> Bethany, five kilometres east of Jerusalem.

had bine dead four dayes; in whose sepulcre I was; whearin I writt my name one the waule<sup>1</sup>, and not in any other place all my pilgrimadge. This Lasarus, as the Greeks hould, was *afterward* Bishopp of Larnica in Siprus 33 yeares; wheare, at a church so named, *they say* he lieth buried. Trewth it is of sutch a faire church so cauled in sutch a towne of Siprus, wheare four years past I was; but of the bones of Lasarus to be ther, it is uncertayne to me. Also the Greeks affirm that St. Helen, the mother of Constantine the Great, is likewise buried in the said iland of Siprus, one a mountayne which at this day is cauled after hir name. She was [the] erector of all thes churches; alike [i.e. also] repairer and observer of all thes holy places in the Holy Land.

Then retorned we back againe to the Water of Siloam<sup>2</sup>, wheare Our Saviour commanded a blind man to wash his eyes, after He had with earth and spittle towtded them. This is at the foote of Mount Sion. Uppon the side of Mount Olivett is buried Hulda the Profitice<sup>3</sup>. Ther in the midst of Mount Olivett was the alter where they burnt the redd cowe. In a cave one the right hand is the sepulcers of Haggi and Malachi. Zacaria is buried belowe<sup>4</sup>. Neare to the sepulcre of Zacaria is the tombe of Absolon, made of seven stones, and a sharp pinnacle one the topp; at which monument the Moores of the contry, when they passe by, at this day throwe stones, with revilinge speches at him, for rebellinge against his father. Betwene the places of Zacaria and Absolon is a plott wheare in ould time they putt the uncleane apart to purdge themselves. This was the Poole of Bethesda<sup>5</sup>, into which the angell decended at certayne tymes and trobled the waters. The

<sup>1</sup> 'Having read the name of Jefferie Kerby upon the wall, written by himsele in that sepulcher, for he had been a thither traveller, in company of Edward Abbot, Master Bidulfe, a preacher, and one Jesytient [Jasper Tient?], a jeweller' (note in Purchas). The tomb is described by Sandys (p. 153), and is still a place of pilgrimage.

<sup>2</sup> The Pool of Siloam is a little way to the south of the city, near the village of the same name.

<sup>3</sup> A vault entered from the Dervish monastery in Kafr et Tūr is held by the Jews to be the tomb of Huldah.

<sup>4</sup> The tombs of Absalom and Zachariah are still shown, to the south-east of the city wall.

<sup>5</sup> It is uncertain which was the piece of water seen by Sanderson. The Pool of Bethesda is now identified with the underground reservoir near the church of St Anne, just inside St Stephen's Gate (Watson, p. 324); but the name was also given to a large pool outside the north wall of the Temple enclosure and near the same gate (*ibid.*, p. 307).

Scriptur speaketh of five porches; but I noted *not*, when I was ther, nether to me by my Greeks was mentioned (as I remember), any sutch matter. And ther is the Vallie of Josafatt<sup>1</sup>, betwene Mount Morea and Mount Olivett, wheare the Jewes say the wourld must be judged. Most hudge stones of incredible bignes [are] heare to be seene; out of some of which ar carved whole howses. Two or three I did see; one of which had divers parted romes, all hewed out of one stone. Thes, in respect of the painefull wourkmanshipp, I thought noteable. As alike, a mile frome Jerusalem, is a place of buriall out of a rocke of one marble stone hewed, with four dores to four sondry romes, and four coffins of the said stone; but the bodies turned to dust and the bones not any remaininge, except *very* smaule peces. This place or rocke is cauled Celbasabua. This may well be the cave whearin the five kinges hid themselves.

Then went I to Ezaia the Profitt his sepulcre; wheare I beheld the figg tree under which the Greeks say that the sonns of Jeremia slept 63 years. Thier names weare Varuh and Abdimeleck. This may be thought a falation in respect of the figg tree, which cannott be of that adge; but they say *it is*, and hath bine ever since, replanted of the brainches in that selfe place. Then went I to the sepulcre of good ould Simon. From thence to a place neare unto the church and sepulcre wheare the Christians affirme the bodie of Our Saviour was laid<sup>2</sup>; a place, I say, cauled Anastatia, where Mary mett Our Saviour after His resurrection, sainge: 'Yf thoue be the gardener, tell me wheare thou hast laid Him.' Over against the church dore, in [the] place wheare Jesus Our Redemer and Saviour shedd His most pretiouse blood [and], painge the ransome of our sinns, was crewelly crucified, I say wheare the crosse stoad, is at this day a prison<sup>3</sup>. In the church,

<sup>1</sup> The valley of the Kedron.

<sup>2</sup> The church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the north-western part of the city. As to the authenticity of the site see Watson, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> 'In this prison Master Henry Timberly (alias Captaine Timberly) was, as by this digressing paper appeareth, which he himselfe recordeth in a printed booke; but thus much I had copied from his owne hand. More, Master Timberly relateth that from Grand Cairo to Jerusalem, all the way by land, he performed thither and backe againe to Cairo in fewer then fiftie dayes' (note by Purchas). Timberly's *True and Strange Discourse of the Travailes of two English Pilgrimes* (himself and John Burrell) was published in 1603 and by 1620 had run through six editions. Further issues appeared in

whose distance is 20 or 25 paces, ar divers alters of divers sorts of Christians. But first I noted in the church dore two great holes, at which is daylie geven in the victualls to all the sorts [of] religieuse persons which keepe continually in the said church; for the Turks never open the dore except for some pilgrime who first payeth to the Cadie (who is the Cheife Justice) the Great Turks due: uppon every one under the Popes banner (which they caule Frankes) 9 chequins in gould<sup>1</sup>, and Greeks under the Patriarke 4½, with other Christians alike (some lesse). Six officers of the Turks at least comes to open the dore: which onse beinge opened, all Christians that ar of that sort who hath paid may enter the church with that one, yf it be registred that they formerlie had paid. But Turks and Moores may at all times goe in when the dores ar opened for any sort of Christian, but must presentlie come out againe. The Christian for whome the gate was opened may at his pleasure lie all night, or two or three nights, in the church yf he will; and the Turks officers retorne to open and lett them out. Divers little belstrings ther ar inside of the dores; which ronge, every sort of friers come downe into the church to receave thier victuall or geve out pitchers of water to poore folkes, or other actions that may happen. Some eight or nine paces in is the sepulcre<sup>2</sup>; uppon which they have made

1683, 1744 (in the *Harleian Miscellany*), and 1759. Biddulph (p. 116) refers to his meeting Timberly and his companion at Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> 'I had paid these nine chequins and had by the Turkes the church doore opened for me, was within and entring the sepulcher, [when] the Roman friers and others fell in an uproare, saying that I was a Jew. The Turkes bad me goe in in despight of them, but the brabble was so terrible that I returned to the Cadie, with the friers. The Padre Gardiano sent his drudgeman and accused me to be a Jew, because I came in company of Jewes. Divers Turkes followed to heare the matter. One old Turke came and earnestly exhorted me to become a Musselman in presence of the Cady. I gave him the hearing, and told him that I was a Christian, and no Jew. Then he said, in the hearing of all the Jewes, Turkes, and Christians: "Let him bee searcht." But the Cadie before whom we were, being a very discreet man, did reprove that Turke and also the drugman and friers, my accusers, and so did dismisse me. But (as I was afterwards told) it cost my adversaries above 200 chequins. I spent not past some twentie in that businesse' (note in Purchas).

For the Padre Guardiano, the head of the Latin community, see Sandys, p. 123. Sandys says (p. 125) that each Frank paid for admission fourteen sultaniehs, though members of a religious order were exempt and Christians subject to the Sultan paid only a trifle. His description of the temple will be found on the same page.

<sup>2</sup> See the plan given by Sandys (p. 126).

a formall round wourke of 12 white marble pillors, two and two together and leaded, with a round cube one the topp. Open over is the church with a kind of round buildinge, open, I say, over the said inward proportionate matter, that alike is leaded one the outside very substantially. Within the church, I say, about that part wheare the tombe is, ar 12 other colored great marble pillours. Those pillors uppon it formerlie spoken of stand about a brace frome the ground, and a wooden footepace [i.e. platform] up equall with it. Some five paces distant, at the end towards the alters, ar one each corner one white *little* marble stone, squared smouth, but not made like pillours, and ar some two foote highe. In the middest of the white marble pillours over the tombe is three holes made of stone, out of which, onse in a yeare, the Popish friers make artifitiall fier to apeare, perswaidinge the Christians that it hath bine ever since the bodie of Christ was ther laid. Right afore up in the church is a great white canapie, under which ar divers picturs and lamps; but in the middest hanges a most statelie white crosse of silver, cueryouselie made. The alters ar more up in the church, above that canapie. Many idolatrus Christians have thier alters, every sort apart; to say, an alter for the Romanists; for the Greks; for the Cufties [Copts] of Cairo; Georgians about the Blacke Sea; Armenians of Persia; Abbasies<sup>1</sup> of Ethiopia; Nestorians of Bagdatt; Jacobites of Alepo, Merdi<sup>2</sup>, and Babilon; Maronitie[s] of Mount Libanus; Shemsi<sup>3</sup>, in Sirria and Celisia (a kind of familie of love). In the sepulcre thes sorts of Christians have thier lamps continually burninge to the number (as say the Greeke friers) of 66, and alike have thier superstitious crosses apart.

I went not downe into the sepulcre, by reason I had a grea controversie with the Popish friers; but might have done, in thier dispiht, had I not bine intreted by the Greeke Patriark and others to avoyd an uprore *at that time*. Yet mad I thos foolish idoliters spend mutch money; and at last *they* sent t intreat me, but then I would not, havinge to my content seen

<sup>1</sup> *Habashī* is the Arabic for an inhabitant of Abyssinia.

<sup>2</sup> Mardīn, in Mesopotamia, the seat of the Syrian Jacobite Patriarch.

<sup>3</sup> The Shamsis, a sect of the Nosairis, dwelling in Cilicia and Northe Syria, would seem to be intended; but they are not Christians and therefore would not have had an altar in the church.

enoughe when the dores weare opened for me, and alike out of the Patriarkes house, which joyneth to the church, in whose pocession the whole steeple and half the tarras is; half, I say, of one side [of] the church, wheare ar three great grates of iron open, servinge to geve light into the church, and wheare they lett downe daylie basketts of victualls for the Greeke friers ther abidinge. Those grates ar above a mans length, and five or six foote broad; at which I did see as mutch as yf I had stoad in the church, and drewe with my penn the forme of the inside and alike the outside. More lower, in a rome at a windowe out of the Patriarks house I stoad and drewe the forme of that which is erected right over the sepulcre, as I have discribed it.

Frome Jerusalem half way to Bethelem is a Greeke chappell built by Inglish<sup>1</sup> Helen, the mother of Constantine (who found, they say, the crosse of Christ and erected all the monuments in the Holy Land) in [the] place wheare Elias his house stoad; over against which ther is a stone in the highwaye that sheweth an ould wourne out print of a man leaninge sleping, with his arme under his head. The Greeks afferme it most certayne to be the print of Elias bodie<sup>2</sup>, when the angell bad him eate and make himselfe stronge to goe 40 dayes jornie to Mount Horeb, wheare for a time he remained fedd of ravins, and after, at Gods commaund, arose and went to Damasco, to anoynt Asaell, Jehu, and Elisha. No remembererance at this place of the jeniper tree the Scripture spekes of. But a figge tree<sup>3</sup> ther is betwene Jerusalem and Bethelem, which the friers shewed me, saing that the Virgin rested herselfe against it when she fledd into Egipt with the child Jesus and hir husband Josiphe<sup>4</sup>. They cutt therof little peces for reliques; and alike in devotion they at this day make many *formall carved crosses, wherein are reliques, and beads. They make paternosters* (as they caule them) of the olive trees which growe uppon Mount Olivett<sup>5</sup>. *Likewise there they told mee (an unlikely thing*

<sup>1</sup> Purchas has corrected this to 'Brittish.' The building was the monastery of Mār Elyās, three miles from Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> See Sandys, p. 137. He says that the marks pointed out to him did not seem 'to retain any manly proportion.'

<sup>3</sup> Sandys (p. 137) calls it 'a turpentine tree.'

<sup>4</sup> At Bir Kadismū, two and a half miles from Jerusalem.

<sup>5</sup> 'Of these crosses and paternoster beades [and] rosaries I did bring from thence, and at my returne presented my brother and some others, having



*it was) that the withered figge tree which Christ accursed is yet standing upon Mount Olivet.*

Frome the figg tree before spoken of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile is Rachells tombe<sup>1</sup>, in *the* middest of the highewaye; at which we were. In sight whearof, one a great banke side, is finelie cituate a pritie towne<sup>2</sup> one the right hand as I went to Bethelem. And two miles of is Bethelem, beinge one a hill side, cituate very pleasauntlie, the highewaye and land chalchie [i.e. chalky] the space of half a mile every waye round aboute it. A church<sup>3</sup> the mother of Constantine hath built over the place wheare Our Saviour was boarne, and first wourshipped of the shepperds and then of the wise men, before Josioph and Mary fledd with Him into Egipt; wheare also I have bine some 17 years since<sup>4</sup>, as in discourse of my former travailes is recorded. The Romanist friers have a chappell goinge downe under this church, wheare they have continually masse and seremoniouslie keepe the *very* place of His birth. The church hath 40 or 50 very faire marble pillours, all of one forme and bignes. I counted them not<sup>5</sup>. It hath bine a very somptiouse church; Greeke pictured saints yet remaining in the upper end of it, which is in forme round, with lardge stepps to goe up to the alter; and one both sides underneth half round steps to goe downe to the Popes friers presincqte [i.e. precinct], who have the custodie of the very place of birth and wheare the mainger stoad. By a gray headed Grekish prest and frier Gretian, my attendant, I was brought up a paire of stayers goinge up at the upper end of

onely reserved for myselfe one crosse, two paire of beads, and two girdles which are the length of the Sepulcher. These crosses, beades, and girdles are brought to us by poore Christians to sel, they saying that they are holy things, for that they had been put into the Sepulcher. I, as the custome was, and as other Christians did, did buy of them and brought from thence' (note in Purchas).

<sup>1</sup> 'When I was there (anno 1601) over the grave of Rachel there was a cube raised upon foure pillars made of stone and morter; and open it was on all sides' (note in Purchas). The building is described by Sandys (p. 137). It is still much frequented by Moslem and Jewish pilgrims.

<sup>2</sup> The village of Beit Jālā.

<sup>3</sup> The well-known Church of the Nativity.

<sup>4</sup> In 1585-87. This shows that Sanderson was writing the present narrative in 1603 or 1604.

<sup>5</sup> 'And yet it comes in my mind that I did tell them; and I thinke they were in number fortie, of verie smooth whitish marble. The upper end of this church, the halfe round mounting steps I meane, are much like those at the church of Rochester' (note in Purchas).

this great church alofte to a little chapell, wheare ar many picturs accordinge to the Greeks manner, but espetially a lardge St. George, before whome they had a lampe burninge; expectinge of me great devotion, they unto it makeinge many crosses, and tould me he was St. George. I answered that I had never seene a bigger. They fixed earnest looks uppon me at that answeare, seeinge I regarded it not; and the ould man tould the other in Greeke he thought I was no Christian, because I made no crosse nor reverence, nether (as he said) to Our Ladies, Christs, St. George[s], or other saints picturs. His felowe foolish frier tould him that those of my contry weare Christians of the wourlds end. I presentlie turned them out of thier talke by hastinge to be gone thence. But they ledd me up to the topp of the church, which is leaded, and many Christians had ther ingraven thier names<sup>1</sup>; so did not I. Then they offered me kindlie to stay and dine with them, but I refused. The ould preest requiered of me almes towards thier lamps, which I did, *giving to them foure chequins*; and came downe the same waye I went up, through the chapell, full of painted most sorts and sised saints; in which chappell also is a well, wheare ordenarylie the Christians drawe water, and it is, they say, the best in Bethelem. They drawe of it in that place, beinge neare the topp of the church; but that within the church (*it stands at the very entrance within*) I take to be the well that David desiered to drinke of frome the hands of his valient men. The Papists hould nether of both, but say it is another neare Bethelem.

So we returned to Jerusalem the same afternone. And in Jerusalem my holy colioro led me to a monastary of Greeke nuns, wheare I bestowed some mony in trifles of neadlewourke wrought by them; and ther the nuns requiered my benevolence. *I gave them seven chequins*. Then presentlie, not far frome that, he had me to another monestary of nuns, wheare I saw thier chappell full of very fine picturs, and they tould me that a man

<sup>1</sup> 'Amongst which names I did see Huet Stapers, who (as some said) had travelled from Grand Cairo thither in friers weeds and (as I have heard) was made a Knight of the Sepulcher by the Padre Guardiano and the other Romish etc. Those whosoever, English or others, who are so knighted, are made to take a mad kind of oath' (note in Purchas). For the Knights of the Sepulcre see a note on a later page.

comes daylie to doe thier service. Ther I did as at the other; and more I bestowed in buying, for ther they graced me with the sight of a very faire young virgin nun, that so mutch bewtie and youth I could noe lesse doe then prayes and pitie hir estate to my coloyro, who was redie the next day to attend me thether againe, yf so had bine my pleasure, to have bought more newe wourks of the ould nuns.

With gould and thanks I rewardeed his passed paines, leaueing him at that time, and to my pilgrime mates the Jewes I retorned. And procecutinge my purpose desiered, I againe further traced the Holie Land, wheare two miles frome Bethelhem ar to be sene two vallies, then rivers, nowe drie, which the Jewes say Salamon digged to water the woods. A little waye of one the left hand is buried Gad<sup>1</sup>, one of the Twelve Patriarks; and half a mile one this side Hebron is the vallie Escol, wheare the twelve spies sent by Moses weare. They retorned with good newes. At this day ther ar grapes in that vallie groinge; one bunche of them wayghe 8 or 9 okes (as those of the contry affermed), which may be of our weyght 20 or 21 lb. I sawe none sutch, thoughe some ther weare very great, spronge out, but not neare ripe. This was the 5th of July 1601.

At the end of this vallie Hescoll is Hebron the citie. The vallie is a longe mile before you come to it, all planted with vines and many trees. In this citie is the sepulcre of Abraham<sup>2</sup>. The Jewes hould that ther also ar buried Adam and Eve, Sara, Isake and Rebecca, Jacob and Lea. Into this tombe not any ar suffered to enter; but at a square hole, throughe a thicke waule, they may deserne a little light of a lampe. The Jewes doe thier cerimonies of prayer ther without. The Moores and Turks ar permitted to have a little more sight, which is at the topp, wheare they let downe the oyle for the lamp. The lampe is a very greate one, continually burninge. An exceedinge ould castell (but of late

<sup>1</sup> There is a Jewish tradition that he was buried at Halhūl, about four miles north of Hebron.

<sup>2</sup> In the Haram, or sacred enclosure, of the mosque at Hebron are shown the tombs of Abraham, Sara, Isaac, Rebecca, Jacob, and Leah. As regards those of Adam and Eve, see Carmoly, pp. 187, 388, 433. The remains of an old castle are on the south side. Della Valle's account of Hebron is at p. 355 of his first volume.

time somewhat repaired) joyneth to it one the one side; a moschea (that is, a church of Moores) one the other; and it seemeth to be within part of the moschea.

At the right side of Hebron, one the mount, is the sepulcre of Jesse<sup>1</sup>, the father of David; and in the citie also is the tombe of Abnir. One the north side of Hebron is the plaine of Mamri<sup>2</sup>, where he [Abraham] received the angells into his tent. This we went not to; but might perceave it a prittie waye of. And ridinge backe to Jerusalem also we sawe the Lake of Sodom, and all the contry therabouts, but thether nether went we. Frome thence the length of the river Jordan, most pleasaunt to behould, in the waye we travailed throughe the contry; yet was I not, *that I know of*, at that very place where John baptised Christ. Notwithstanding, I washed my hands and head and dranke of the river in divers places, as, yf you have and doe marke this discourse, may be perceaved.

Uppon Thursday, the 8th of July 1601, we departed Jerusalem. Came backe to Beera (or Beroth). Then to Sichem the 9th day. But our horses, cambles, mules, and asses beinge very hott and weary, we stayed and refreshed ourselves and them at Jacobs Well<sup>3</sup>, which is *about*  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile before ye come to Sichem. The Jewes ar ther also ceremoniouse. The water is exelent good and abundant, beinge hard by the highewaye. Ther it was that Our Saviour talked with the Woman of Samaria<sup>4</sup>. In sight of this well, two stones casts of, ar Josephes bones buried; where I had bine with the Jewes at my last beinge in Sichem, as I went to Jerusalem. The 11th we came to Jenin (Paradise). The 12th to the antient citie Tiberiouse<sup>5</sup>. This is built close by the shore side.

<sup>1</sup> Within the ruins of Deir el Arba'in, on the hill Rumeideh. On the tombs of Jesse and Abner, see Carmoly, pp. 187, 243, 388, 434.

<sup>2</sup> Now called the Valley of Terebinths, between Beit Sūr and Hebron.

<sup>3</sup> 'Jacobs Well is just square, about foure yards every way, built of some squared stones, and not very deepe, but excellent cleere and coole. So flat at the top that we did sit upon it, for our ease, recreation, and refreshment, the space of one houre parlying' (note in Purchas).

<sup>4</sup> See Della Valle, vol. 1, p. 361.

<sup>5</sup> 'Memorandum that my honourable and most honest Jew, in a kind sort to doe mee pleasure, was content to goe out of the straight way sixe miles, to shew me the citie Tiberias and Capernaum, where wee lodged that night' (note in Purchas). They went much more than six miles out of the way. Probably he means that they left the road at Karn Hittin, whence it is about six miles to Tiberias.

Frome thence we might see, most exelent pleasauntlie apeareinge above the topp of other highe mountaynes, the citie Bethell uppon his mountayne, the hieste mountayne neare unto it, wheare, as I say, they affirme that the Messias will come. Those for the pleasurablest mountaynes which in my life time I have seene, and Libanus for the hudget; over [the] topp of which Libanus I have passed. The plaine of Baallgad<sup>1</sup>, at the bothome of Mount Libanus towards Damascus, is the spatioussest; but the plaine wherin Damascus is built is the plesaunttest that any eye can in earth behould.

The Sea [of] Tiberious is in my judgement at the most five or six miles over in the broadest place<sup>2</sup>. Heare it was that Our Saviour and Peter fished and went over, when He fedd the 5000. We onelie remained heare four howers; in which time we cast croma of bread into that little sea, and divers fish like carps *in scales and of colour* (but they weare somewhat longer and thinner-bellied) came in abundance to the shore, some smaule, some great. Thence we passed<sup>3</sup>, for feare of Arabian theeves, which ar in tropps about those contryes, pitchinge thier tents at divers tims in divers plaines and frutefull places, liveinge a little commonwelth emongest themselves, subject to no lawe, begitting childeren and breeding up all sorts of cattell for thier use. They ar of divers trades, as smithes, shoemakers, weavers, and sutch like; and emongest them have exelent runing horses, wherwith they often ride a theevinge.

So we came to Almenia<sup>4</sup>, which hath bine a great citie also, seven or eight miles of, close built by the sea side; alonge throughe which runneth a chanell of Jordan. This undoubtedlie is Capern-

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> 'And yet, by reason of the very high land on the other side, I may well imagine the breadth to bee three or foure leagues' (note in Purchas). The greatest breadth is really about seven miles.

<sup>3</sup> 'And yet in the foure houres that wee there reposed, we fell to the provant wee brought; and we got foure or five of those fishes out of that river Jordan, and did broyle them upon hot coales, that of wood wee had quickly made for that purpose, and I did eate my part of them so broyled' (note in Purchas).

<sup>4</sup> Khān Minye, which Della Valle (vol. 1, p. 370) terms 'Menia.' For arguments that it is the site of Capernaum see Sir George Adam Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 456. Nowadays, however, it is generally held that Tēl Hūm (a little to the north-east) is the more probable site.

naum, for that it is over the poynt of the land. Ther we lodged. So ridinge up the higher part of the contry, we came to a reasonable great towne, which may well be Nasareth<sup>1</sup>. Frome thence to Cana<sup>2</sup>. We sawe the river Arnon<sup>3</sup>, so cauled (as some said) beinge a river. It seemed to us a poole, apart frome this Jordaine; which Jordaine (as I have said before) runneth throughe the Lake of Sodome and alike throughe the Sea [of] Tiberious, which is Genezerett, passeth a bridge, and falleth into another little sea (or rather great poole) called Cadis. Then progressed we throughe another exelent situation, wheare had bine some famouse citie, like to be Gilgal or Nazarett<sup>4</sup>; for the Patriarke of Jerusalem<sup>5</sup> tould me that, comminge frome Damascus, we must needs goe throughe Nazarett. So that I say this was Nazareth, or that formerlie spoken of; but my Jewes, nether Turks, could directlie advise me which it was.

So by divers townes we came againe to Safett, which is Bethell, before spoken of. This was the 13th of July. Heare the Jewes stayed to keepe a solemne Saboth; weare visited of all the preests in generall, who ar clothed in an outward habitt of white, but made of gotes haire as ar our grogerains, and some of them in white grogeraine. With great modestie and holie shewe

<sup>1</sup> It certainly was not. Possibly the place he saw was Kerāzeh (Chorazin).

<sup>2</sup> Cana is generally supposed to have been Kafr Kenna, which is a considerable distance away from Sanderson's route.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the spring of 'Ain el Hamra.

<sup>4</sup> It could not have been either. Gilgal was the modern Jaljulye, 25 kilometres east of Jaffa; and Nazareth was also well away from the route.

<sup>5</sup> 'Of this Patriarch I had to his power most loving and kinde entertaynement. Out of his librarie I had a very old New Testament manuscript [in] Greeke, for which I gave him sixe chequins in gold; and I gave it to my brother, Doctor Sanderson. Old and torne as it was, yet they, the translators of Pauls Epistles at his house in Saint Laurence parish, did make some use thereof in their translation: D[octo]r Barlo (bishop), D[octo]r Hutchinson, D[octo]r Spencer, D[octo]r Felton, D[octo]r Tighe, Master Rabbet, Master Fenton, etc.' (note in Purchas). For Barlow see p. 85. Dr Ralph Hutchinson was President of St John's College, Oxford. John Spenser was President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and edited the works of Richard Hooker. Dr Nicholas Felton became in succession Bishop of Bristol and of Ely. Dr Robert Tighe was vicar of All Hallows, Bread Street, 1598-1616, and Archdeacon of Middlesex from 1602. The Rev. Michael Rabbet was rector of St Vedast, Foster Lane, 1604-17. Dr Roger Fenton was rector of St Bennet Sherehog, 1603-06, vicar of Chigwell, 1606, and also rector of St Stephen, Walbrook, from 1601 to his death in 1616; from 1609 he had been in addition a prebendary and canon of St Paul's.

they came one by one to salute, imbrasinge and conferringe some smaule time, and so departinge. These my companion strainger Jewes bought many books, some two or three mules ladinges, which weare holie books of the declaration of thier lawe. To Christians they will not sell of some of them for any mony; I imagin they thinke it a sinn so to doe. Heare they geve almes, mutch mony, and likewise sodd meat, great caldrons full, for the poore, to every one a pece at a time, with a lofe of bread and potadge; and also at other times mony. This they did three tim[e]s in the six dayes we ther remained. I thinke they spent, I say the chefest Jewe, cauled Abraham Coen, he, I say, gave away heare at least 2000 dollars, and 1000 at Jerusalem; others in his company, accordinge to thier abilitie, reasonable soms. This all to the poorer sort with thier owne hands. But to the greater doctors and scoles they alowe yearlie stipend, most or all Jewes of abilitie, whearsoever they remaine, althoughe they goe not to the Holie Land; but sutch as have bine ther and safelie retourned geve great volentary almes. For onse in thier lifetime the Jewes say they ar bound by thier lawe of Moses to goe thether, *if they can or bee able*. And some dead Jewes bones ar caried to the Holie Land and ther buried. We weare frayghted with woulls frome Constantinople for Sidon, in which sacks, it was most certaynelie tould me, weare Jewes bones in two or three little chests, but unknown to us<sup>1</sup>. It was my happ at Safett to meet the Jewes our merchaunts laders, at my retorne frome Jerusalem; with whome I argued what I had bine tould concerninge Jewes bones in our shipp; who to me denied it not, but prayed me not to reveale it, for preventinge them in the like another time.

The 19th we came to Conetra; the 20th to Sasa<sup>2</sup>; and the 21th we arived in Damasco, enteringe in at the gate cauled Toma<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> The text in Purchas reads: 'to any of the ship.' Sandys (pp. 106, 116) refers to the practice of carrying the remains of deceased Jews to the Holy Land.

<sup>2</sup> 'Wee travelling betweene Sasa and Conetra, I was told by some that about this very place it was where Saint Paul was strooken off of his horse; but I could not tell how to believe them. Yet sure I am that wee did twice passe over that very way' (note in Purchas).

<sup>3</sup> The Bāb Tūmā, or Gate of St Thomas, on the north-eastern side of the city.

which leadeth to Jobar. Frome Damascus the 11th of August, goinge out at the gate cauled Amara<sup>1</sup>. Without the said gate ar two great mountaynes. One we mounted. It is cauled Dohonett; where is one the topp, under a cube *not leaded*, a great hudge foote of stone sett up, in signe, as the Turks say, that Mahumett was ther and wewed [i.e. viewed] the vallie whearin Damascus is built, caulinge it Paradise<sup>2</sup>. *Most* assueredlie, thence to see the same all alonge the plaine vallie, beinge *rarely* mixed with *many* trees, most glistering silver sided shaking leaves, eye cannott behould a *more* pleasaunter sight. The citie, beinge longe and close as it weare to the side of the righthand mountayne, as we came toward it frome Sidon, seemeth *at our view* so mingled emongest the brainches that out of doubt brainched damaske toke the first name therof<sup>3</sup>, *if not patternd by it*. The other mountayne is cauled Dora. So we came to a villadge cauled Sergalio<sup>4</sup>. The 21th [12th ?] we passed the mountaynes, nowe named Haghbett and Romani, in Scripture cauled Halack<sup>5</sup>; and afarr of sawe the end of Hermon.

Close under the side of this mountayne Halacke, open to the very middest of the plaine which is betwene it and the mountayne Libanon, is a very great and most auntient citie cauled nowe Balbacke<sup>6</sup>, in which at this day standith a rowe of very great pillors, sett up (as is said) in Salamons time. This citie in Scripture is cauled Baallgad<sup>7</sup>. *Old, ruined, and uninhabited it is, as I remember*. A pillore also *there is* in the middest of the plaine, built of *squared* stones sett together, and doubtlesse of mutch later time then the other pillors at the citie<sup>8</sup>. This *surely* is in<sup>9</sup> the vallie of Gad. The flatt plaine frome hill to hill may be in bredth some 10, 11, or 12 miles; the length doble. It seemes

<sup>1</sup> The Bāb el 'Amāra (the north gate). With Sanderson's account of the journey may be compared that given by Maundrell (p. 180).

<sup>2</sup> See Maundrell, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> This etymology is now accepted.

<sup>4</sup> Sarghāya, about 22 miles N.N.W. of Damascus.

<sup>5</sup> The Mount Halak of Scripture is generally identified with Jebel Maderah, in the extreme south of Palestine.

<sup>6</sup> Maundrell gives an interesting description of Ba'albek (p. 181).

<sup>7</sup> The ancient Baal Gad is nowadays identified with Hāsbeya, about 20 miles south-east of Sidon.

<sup>8</sup> The text in Purchas reads: 'that wee beheld from the citie.'

<sup>9</sup> Omitted in Purchas.



the goodliest sea of land<sup>1</sup> that I have seene; it farr passeth the plaine of Antioch.

The 13th we came to a villadge cauled Ainatt<sup>2</sup>, at the foote (or rather some five miles ascended) of Mount Libanus; which said mountayns [are] the tedioussest and I think the hiest travailed in the wourld. Beinge the hottest time of yeare we passed the very hiest topp<sup>3</sup> this 14th August, yet some snowe *was* ther *re-mayning*, and so extreame could that my hands weare benumbed and seemed white *all over* like unto a kind of frost; but decendinge three or four miles, weare revived as formerlie. At afternone we came to a villadge some seven or eight miles frome Tripolie, cauled Aigdel<sup>4</sup>; reposing half an hower. And so passed some ould townes, amonghest which is Acon, a very stronge fort and castell full of great ordinance. Heare the Emir of Tripolie hath his aboad. And *ther wee* had sight of one platt of ground in the mountaynes wherin weare ceder trees<sup>5</sup>. These ar of indifferent bignes, but not very hudge; the bodie streyght and brainches spreadinge, of very exelent shewe; the broadest rowe of them lowest, and so rowes (I say) of brainches goinge up narrower and narrower untill at the top they seeme in a manner sharp. The frute standinge uppon the *very* brainches plesauntlie upright. The leaves in forme of rosmary, but rather slenderer and sharper, yet growe in prittie little bunches pert upright, together with the frute. Yet the frute springeth wholie above the leaves, with a very smaule wrie stalke as it we are sett into the side of the brainche. That same night, very late, we came to Tripolie safelie; the Lord be ever prayesd.

I noted that in all my pilgrimadge the graver and better sort of Jewes with whome I travailed would never reson with me of

<sup>1</sup> The text in Purchas reads: 'the pleasantest levell (as it were a sea of land).' Probably this and some other variations were editorial emendations.

<sup>2</sup> 'The hils afarre off rising above this playne to our appearance as if we should descrie land, we sayling, as it were, upon the sea; the valley is so very plain [i.e. flat] and spacious, most pleasant to behold' (note in Purchas).

<sup>3</sup> 'Ain 'Ata, about 14 miles north-west of Ba'albek.

<sup>4</sup> 'There is a more common way and lower roadway, but that makes more miles before we come to Tripoly' (note in Purchas).

<sup>5</sup> Possibly Maundrell's 'Ayn il Hadede.'

<sup>6</sup> 'Being at Tripoly in anno 1586, I went divers times upon pleasure up those Libanus mountayns and gathered of those cedar branches, before I fell sicke' (note in Purchas).

Christ, for offending or being displeasunt unto me; for without scoffinge they never talke of Him and His folowers. Yet one day I had frome the mouthes of three or four [of] the meaner sort, adged men, who professed knoweledge of thier Juishe religion, an argument wherin is consideration, and in my opinion a kind of thier accknoweledgment and confession. They said that ther was a stone in the Lords house at Jerusalem, the middest of the wourld, called Evenasediya<sup>1</sup>, uppon which was written the name of God, and that whosoever could gett in thether and retorne with it written might have what he requiered and doe what he would; which they said Jesus, Josiph the carpenters sonne, by extraordinary means gott unto and writt it, cuttinge his owne thigh, so hid it and escaped out of the temple; said: *Yea afdomi anni*<sup>2</sup>, but was presentlie answeared: *Mamzer*<sup>3</sup> *bemidatah*<sup>4</sup>; which interpreted, as the Jewes tells me, is: ('Saith Christ) lett the people serve me.' The oracle answeared: 'After death, not in life<sup>5</sup>.' Then, say they, first he began to flie and make of earth birds, with many more sutch like wourks, as these Jewes to me confessed in a scornefull opprobious manner; addinge further that they mervailed howe we Christians could be so ledd by one Peter and Paule, John, Mary, and sutch like; further addinge that it was not possible for the best learned amongst all Christians to expound the meaninge of the letter A, and that thier doctors could, onelie uppon that first letter, *write* whole volumes, to be studied one untill the wourlds end; and they knewe, they

<sup>1</sup> *Eben ha-shēthāyāh*, 'stone of the foundation.' See Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, vol. XII, p. 714, for the story of this stone, which was believed to be the centre of the earth and the corner stone of the temple. It was said that David, in digging the foundations of the temple, came upon the floods of the deep, which surged up and threatened to overwhelm the world, had he not closed the orifice with this stone, on which he had written the ineffable name of God.

<sup>2</sup> *Ya 'abdūm 'ammī*, 'let my people serve me.'

<sup>3</sup> *Mamzer*, 'bastard.' For the reason why this appellation was applied to Jesus, see the story given in Samuel Krauss's *Das Leben Jesu nach Jüdischen Quellen*, pp. 50, etc.

<sup>4</sup> The text in Purchas reads *bemitadah*. Dr Barnett suggests that it represents *bē-māthāthā*, i.e. 'in death.'

<sup>5</sup> The story of Jesus having penetrated into the temple, copied the sacred name, and hidden it in the manner described, is given in the Jewish narratives to be found in the work by Krauss already cited; but these do not mention the declaration of the oracle.

said, that Jerusalem shall be built againe and thier Messias come and make them princes, as they have bine in time past, but then to govern all the wourld, and that the other disperced tribes, who at this day (they say) doe live in Ethyopia but cannott come out thence by reason of a sea of sand which parts Egipt and Ethyopia, the said sea flowinge and is continually trobled, except every seventh day, which is thier Saboth<sup>1</sup>, so that they cannott passe it untill the time appoynted by Adonai (God Almightye). Many other opinions they have, as that God sends thier soules, yf they have not at first forgevenes, twise more into other newe bodies in the wourld, to amend and become better, and then ether receavith or rejecteth them, accordinge to thier deeds; and that in what parts soever of the wourld they die and ar buried, thier bodies must all rise to judgment in the Holie Land, *out of the Valley of Jehosophat*; which causeth that the greater and ritcher sort have thier bones conveyed to some part therof by *their kindred or frends*, by which meanes they ar freed of a labour to scrape thether throughe the ground, which with thier nayles (they say) they hould they must that ar not ther buried nor caried thether by others. Other talke I had frome them, offeringe as little tast of trewth as this last reasonlesse likelihood. So I them left to become wiser and better good, yf Goodnes will, who in all [be] ever glorified, and we Christians by Our Saviour and Lord, His Sonn Jesus Christ, sanctified and saved, our sinns drowned in His bloud by the spirrett of belieufe in His powerfull predestination. Glory, glory, glory for ever and ever and ever, Amen.

JOHN SANDERSON.

Abram Coen, figliolo di Isack Coen, habitante in Tirria et Sio (il piu in Sio). Salamon Marabi, habitante in Terria. Jacob ben al David, habitant in Esmirna. Abram Alvo, habitante in Constantinopolie. Mose Rosino, habitante in Damasco. Salamon di Urbino, habitante in Constantinople. Isake, figliolo del predetto Jacob. In company of the eight<sup>2</sup> Jewes beforenamed I

<sup>1</sup> For the Sambatyon, or Sabbatical river, full of sand, see Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, vol. XI, p. 167. It was supposed to hem in the Lost Tribes, and was generally placed in or near the land of Prester John.

<sup>2</sup> He has enumerated only seven. The eighth seems to have been the father-in-law of Abraham Coen (see later).

travailed frome Damasco to Jerusalem and so backe thether againe; wheare we left Mose Rosino, and so I came with the other seven to Tripoli (Sorria), wheare we parted.

I had with me at my departure frome Constantinople the Great Turk his letter to the Basshawe of Jerusalem [and] the Patriarks letter of Constantinople to the Patriarke of Jerusalem, to geve me interteynement and shewe me the holy places. At Jerusalem I had certificate frome the Patriarke of my being ther and visitinge the places<sup>1</sup>. . . . At Jerusalem I had also certificate in Ebrew of the Jewes<sup>2</sup>. . . .

### SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION<sup>3</sup>

Thus have I given thee the voyages of Master John Sanderson. Touching the difficulties of entrance into Jerusalem, I thought good to adde this which followeth; the rather that my countrey-men may be advised, before they adventure this Ierosolymitan pilgrimage; superstition on the one side and tyrannie on the other endangering the best pilgrimage, which is the peaceable way of a good conscience to that Jerusalem which is above. For if a man doth not give content to the friers, which a good conscience cannot doe, except some of their patrons and benefactors letters, or other extraordinary provision, helpe, you see these superstitious friers to prove malicious lyers; as here they slandred Master Sanderson to bee a Jew, and Master Timberlie to bee a spie; that I mention not foure other Englishmen, not long before seene to enter their monasterie but never seene to come foorth, as the Patriarch of Jerusalem confidently affirmed to Master Sanderson. Hence it is that Master Timberlie affirmeth that none enter the citie but protected by them; which others (having otherwise entred, by extraordinary course) disavow; and yet may that speech (understood of ordinarie entrance) bee true. For Master Timberlies passage, wee will adde it to the end<sup>4</sup>; for Master Sanderson, thus hee writeth:

<sup>1</sup> Sanderson proceeds to quote the document, in an Italian version. This has not been reproduced, as an English translation is given on p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly, an Italian translation of the certificate is given in the manuscript. An English version will be found on p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> From *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. II, bk. IX, p. 1636.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 1640.

Now, Master Purchas, take a memorandum of mee, that my first dayes entertaynment into Jerusalem was somewhat crosse, in that I crossed two friers which came to bid mee welcome. I said that I had not to use of their kindnesse, because I was recommended to the Greeke Patriarch; so in some colour [i.e. choler] they left mee. But a Turke presently after came, in the name of the Bassa, and tooke my sword from my side, which had cost me thirtie dollers in Damasco, alleading that no Christian ought to enter the citie gates with his sword girt about him<sup>1</sup>, but that I might have borne it in my hand; and yet their custome is to privileged the Jewes in that case. Thus I lost my sword; and after was ledde to the Caia [see p. 18] of the Bassa, who related to mee the errour I had committed, and further demanded of me a present for his master and another for himselfe. Then I shewed him the Great Turkes letter, which imported a command to use mee respectively [i.e. respectfully] wheresoever I came in his dominions. He read the letter with great regard, and said that he had not, neither would he, offer me any abuse, nor any in Hierusalem should doe me wrong; and that he would passe over my errour concerning the presumption to enter the citie gate with my sword by my side, if in courtesie I would bestow a vesture of velvet upon the Bassa his master and a garment of satten upon himselfe; which I denied to doe. Hee then presently committed me to the Subbassie [Governor: *Subāshī*] againe<sup>2</sup> and grisly Turke and his rascally terrible attendants to bee laid in prison. But the Jewes in whose company I had travelled fell downe at his feet and entreated for me; often kissing his hand and garment, praying him to pardon my bold behaviour and words of displeasure, with much whispering. They agreed for mee that I should give him twelve chickquines in gold; wherewith, together also the losse of my sword, I escaped at that time. But two dayes after the friers set upon mee againe, and feed the Turkes lustily and largely, thinking to doe me some displeasure, but effected not their purpose, for I still defied them and their Padre Guardian; which in a manner broke their very galls. Only they did put mee to some trouble and charge. And I in their despight kept com-

<sup>1</sup> Biddulph (p. 116) says that weapons had to be given up before a Christian could enter the city.

<sup>2</sup> Misprint for 'a grim'?

pany with the Patriarke of the Greekes and his coloyros (I meane priests and friers) and I went not at all to the Romish clergie nor visited their Padre Guardian, though the poore Greeke Patriarke did very much and often intreate mee to it; at which they were so exceedingly distempered that that my scorne of them was written of to Tripoly; they certifying an old frier there of all past on my part in Hierusalem; which Tripoly frier at my comming ducked very kindly, and came to our house to bid mee welcome from the Holy Land. Yet he with a fowling-peece shot made at me two sundry times, out of an Italians house where he kept; I being trayned [i.e. enticed] abroad by a Jew, a broker, an old acquaintance of mine, whose name was Daniell Gallana; but (as God would have it) missed both the times. The first time I suspected nothing, although the bullet fell within my length and slapt against a tree about the root, the Jew taking occasion to goe somewhat before me. We hearing the report, I told him how neere the bullet fell. He said that it was Signior Francisco, shooting at some bird from the tarras or out of the window; and I then imagined no other. Some few dayes after, walking abroad againe the second time, about the very same place another bullet whirld very neere before me, when on a sudden the Jew lingered behind me. Then I mistrusted, and walked no more that way, nor at all againe with that Jew. And praysed God in my heart for that escape, as for many other former deliverances from murthering, poysoning, shipwrack, etc., with intolerable agrievances and terrible temptations, in the course of my pilgrimage.

[Purchas continues:]

I have in my hands three originall certificates or letters of commendations, written in behalfe of the said Master John Sanderson; two in moderne Greeke, the third in Talmudicall Ebrew. The first from the Patriarke of Constantinople to the Patriarke of Jerusalem, commending him to his care. The second a testimoniall of the Patriarke of Jerusalem, to this sense: Sophronius, by the mercy of God Patriarke of the holy citie Jerusalem. Master John Sanderson, Englishman, hath come to the holy citie of Jerusalem, hath there done his devotion, hath visited the Sepulchre, Bethlehem, and Gethsemani, Mount

Olivet, the Ascention, Bethania, the sepulchre of Lazarus, Jordan, Hebron, and the rest of the holy places where Jesus Christ walked. And this present writing is made to testifie the truth. Amen. Dated the yeere of the world 7111, the eleventh of July. Sophronius, by the mercie of God Patriarke of Jerusalem.

This was written, sayth our author, by the Patriarke his owne hand. Hee was a grave man with a grey beard; had eight or ten attendants. At the first meeting in his monasterie, offered his hand to kisse after their fashion; Master Sanderson using his owne, kissing his hand and touching therewith the Patriarkes, wherewith he seemed well pleased.

The occasion of his Jewish societie he thus delivereth: When it was determined that Master Best, the captaine and master of the Mermaid, at our arrivall at Sidon with three other and myselfe should have gone for Joppa, and so to Jerusalem. But the master, by danger of rockes and risinge of winde, thought not good to leave the ship; and the other three passingers would not. So that I was faine (holding my determination) to post alone without fellow Christian, in company of honourable Jewes. In which journey by the principall, named Abraham Coen, who went to accompany his wifes father to Saphet, which is at Bethel, and there to end his dayes, after two thousand dollors at least distributed in charity to those colledges of Jewes, we went to Jerusalem, and in our returne wee tooke Tiberias and Capernaum in our way, which was somewhat out of the way direct to Damascus, but this my companion Jew, merchant and a dweller in Sio and Smirna, was so respective, kind and courteous that never in any Christians company, of what degree soever, I ever did receive better content. For morall carriage towards all, understanding, and honestie this Jew was without company [compare ?]. I kept his company three moneths together, by reason that from Sidon wee went to Damascus, to disburthen him and some of his of at least ten thousand chequins, which he left there to be employed in commodities till our returne thither againe. So over Libanus to Tripoly wee went; and ther the Gentile-Jew with his Damasco commodities and attendants departed by sea to Sio, not without moist eyes betweene Jew and Christian when wee parted company. A most devout, zealous, and soft-

hearted man he was. I cannot speake too much good of him, in regard of his great humanitie and extraordinary charitie; his measure being more in those performances then is to be found in many of us Christians.

The Jewish testimonie, written in Hebrew and subscribed by divers Jewes<sup>1</sup>, I have here added:

These are to declare the journey of the Worshipfull Master John Sanderson, English gentleman, who came hither unto Jerusalem, the holy citie (may it shortly bee built), with the caravan and company of honourable Jewes, upon Tuesday the tenth of the moone Tamas anno 5361 of the creation of the world, and went with them unto many holy places; and hath brought with him also letters of favour from the Patriarke of Constantinople for the Patriarke of this place, and he hath sent together with him of his men and they have shewed him all the places of their devotion, and they brought him to Bethelhem. And to declare the truth I have written and underwritten this with my owne hand, for to give knowledge thereof unto all the people of his citie and the gentlemen of his places; and all the places which he went to he hath kept a true note of under his owne hand. I that write this in Jerusalem, the holy citie (may it be shortly built), the seventeenth of the nominated moone and yeere. I, Gedelia Cordoero (he was the Hacham [*Hākhām*] or priest<sup>2</sup>), Abraham Coen, the sonne of Isack Coen, an inhabitant in Sio (this was Rabbi Abraham, the chiefe Jew of the company), Salamon Marabi, an inhabitant of Tirria, Jacob, the sonne of David, a dweller in Smirna, Abram Alvo, a dweller in Constantinople (this ancient Jew was their cooke all the journey), Mose Rasimo, a dweller in Damasco (who of devotion went with us to the Holy Land, and in whose house in Damasco wee did remayne and lodge, both at our going and comming, and thence we went to Tripoly over the highest top of Libanus, where was some snow remayning, though it were in the heate of summer, namely the fourteenth day of August 1601; from the bottome to

<sup>1</sup> 'I have this certificate in Rabbinicall Hebrew, with the Jewish subscriptions, and the Italian translation thereof' (note by Purchas).

<sup>2</sup> 'This, and the following descriptions of their persons, is added by Master Sanderson' (note by Purchas). The same remark applies to the other passages placed in brackets.



the top they accounted it to be at the least eight miles up, and about ten miles downe to the towne of Tripoly), Salamon di Urbino, a dweller in Constantinople, Isack (he was the sonne of the abovenamed Jacob; he was of yeeres one or two and twentie, and yet his father had much feare of him in travelling those sodomiticall places, because, as he said, the boy was beardlesse). The old Jew, father in law to Rabbi Abraham, we left to die at Bethel, which they do call Saphet Casa di Dios. At our first entrance thither the Jewish women cried from the tops of their houses: *Sei ben venito à la casa di Dios, Rabbi Abraham.*

[After printing a letter from Meletus, Patriarch of Alexandria, to the English Ambassador at Constantinople, dated 26 May, 1593, Purchas proceeds to quote Sanderson's description of that cleric, whose age, according to a marginal note, was forty-five.]

This holy Patriarke, Padre Melete, was a very comely blacke long bearded man. He never did eate any sort of flesh in all his lifetime. He often frequented, and was very inward with, our ambassadour, Master Edward Barton. I have heard him reason often, and seene him pray one time, in the ambassadors chamber together with us. He spake in Greeke, which Master Barton did [a?] little understand; myselfe nothing at all, except *Theos* etc. When he hath eaten with the ambassador, our table was ever furnished with the best fish, and not the weakest wine; yet ever he had a young priest for his taster of all the wine he dranke; and all the while that the cup was at the Patriarkes mouth, the sixe other coloyros that waited on him at meales did ever pray in a soft kind of voice. This man was very meeke in the shew of his behaviour towards all sorts and manner of men, which amongst his Greekes did made him to be much respected and beloved. Yet did he aspire and get by Master Bartons meanes and his money to be Patriarke of Constantinople, which soone he was weary of, the Turkes ministers did so much and extraordinarily exact upon him. So that before his death hee resigned it, and went from Constantinople and did decease at his old patriarkado Alexandria, and there lyeth buried<sup>1</sup>. Of all these moderne Greekes I have

<sup>1</sup> Biddulph (p. 40) says that, by Barton's influence, Milesius was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople, but after the ambassador's death was deposed

not heard of a better man. Most certainly he was a true Christian professor, although the times permitted not that he might declare it, except in private to some of learning and understanding. Master Edward Barton the ambassador, as Master Henry Lillo did tell mee, who did see it, said that, few dayes before his [Barton's] decease, the Patriarke and he did weepe upon one anothers neckes. He kissed the dying man, who had seriously recommended a kinsman and other his servants unto him, pretending that, of the monies which by his promises he was behind with him, his desire was that he would be good unto his said servants; and so they parted<sup>1</sup>.

### SANDERSON'S LIST OF THE VESSELS IN WHICH HE SAILED (f. 132 a)<sup>2</sup>

*Note of the names of all the shippes and vessells I sailed in, and what became of divers of them.*

*Marchaunt Royall.* In a flawe was sonke at an ancore in Malamocco, at Venis. She was the first that caried me for the Streights.

*Charitie.* Beinge ould, was sould into Spaine. She brought me first unto Constantinople.

A gallie aperteyninge to the Beg of Alexandria. Brought me into Egypt.

A jermi of Alexandria. Broke and wrecked at the mouth of Roscetto; wherein I was. Five drowned. Myselfe at that time mervailouslie saved.

A little Mooreish boat of Bullaco. Caried me frome Cairo to Damiatto, which is two dayes jorney south of Joppa.

A caramisall (which is a Turkish shipp) we frayghted frome Roscetto in Egypt. In hir I went safelie to Tripolie in Surria.

*Hercules.* Brought me the first time for Ingland frome Tripolie [in] Surria.

by the Greeks, who resented his alliance with the English; they, however, allowed him to resume his old post of Patriarch of Alexandria.

<sup>1</sup> Purchas goes on to quote a letter addressed to Sanderson by the Rev. William Biddulph, dated from Aleppo, 22 Oct. 1601, and makes the following interesting statement: 'I could also have added other notes, with M[aster] Sandersons charts and delineations of the cite and temple of Hierusalem; but I dare not be too tedious. For which cause I also omit divers letters written in those parts to and from him.'

<sup>2</sup> Not printed by Purchas.

A barke of Hambroughe [Hamburg]. Caried me for Flushing. In the same was the Ladie Drury with hir daughters and other hir attendants.

A barke of Sandwidge. Brought me frome thence for England.

*Samaritan.* In which we pretended [i.e. intended] for the Est Indies. We retorned that viadg in savetie, and afterward she was wrecked neare Dartmouth, comming frome Burduex [Bordeaux].

*Toby.* In which I went for the Streights the second time. Too viadges after she brake uppon the rocks at Cape Spratt [Spartel] neare the Streights mouth.

A little Turkish vessell I went in frome Negroponto to Constantinople.

*Navi Ragazona*, a Venetian shipp, who caried me frome Scandaron to Venis. Burnt in Malamocco, the port of Venis, by negligence of a mariner, some say a cooper.

A Dutch shipp (Flushing), a man of warr. Sett me ashore in the Downes, the second time I came frome Constantinople.

*Hector.* In hir I went the third time for the Streights.

A little Turkish vessell frome Troy carried me to Constantinople.

*Mermaid.* I went in frome Constantinople to Sidon. The *Trogian* broke one the rocks at Tripolie Road. In hir I purposed to goe for Christendome, but after went in the *Edward Bonaventure*.

*Edward Bonaventure.* To Zant brought me frome Tripolie. Wrecked the yeare after uppon the coast of Fraunce, before Bullin [Boulogne].

*Cherubin.* Caried me to Venis. She was burnt at Blackewaule, by a meane mariners negligence.

*Vauntgard*, one of Hir Magesties shippes. Brought me for England.

Thes twenty shippes and barks ar all that ever I sailed in the eighteen years beforenamed, except many smaule boats and barks uppon the river Nilus, in Egipt, and passinge divers rivers in Christendom; as in the foregoinge discourse of my travailes may be readd.

## CORRESPONDENCE<sup>1</sup>

*Edward Barton at Constantinople to J. S. in Egypt*

30 May 1586 (f. 390 a)<sup>2</sup>

...Signor Paulo Mariani is com to Constantinople, and hath his diett and lodginge in My Lord<sup>3</sup> his house; who likewise doth defend him against the French amb[assado]r, who did by all means laboure to have him confined to Argier for murther which he should comitt in Cairo, and other crimes which perticularlie he would not mencion nor openlie here laie to his chardge, but desired that he might be put in prison or kept sure till the first conveiance or passadge for Cairo, and then to be sent to be judgd there of all matters which should be laid to him; thinkinge herby that Sinan Bassa, his utter enimye, wolde geve such sentence upon him as the Frenchmen themselves shold require. But My Lord delivered him out of thire hands<sup>4</sup>, and upon this matter went to the Vicerey, requiringe that he might not be sent to be judged of Sinan Bassa, his enimie; and obtained that he should goe and be judged by Bustanzade, the Cadilesqueir of Cairo, which is Signor Paulo his frinde, and that in none of his matters or controversies Sinan Bassa doe intermedle or be hinderance of right justice. He hath the favour of what comandments he himself will and after what forme he desireth. Ebrahim Bassa doth take his part. So that we all hope he shall retorne speedely with former honor and hereafter live ther in ease and creditt, to Vento his continuall shame and utter undoinge. Wee doe dalie expect that a new bassa should be sente for that place; which thinge if it happen, all his matters will have the better successe. The

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all are from copies made by Sanderson or his apprentice. Letters recorded in the notes are mostly omitted from this section; others have been passed over, because of their relative unimportance.

<sup>2</sup> The names and addresses of the correspondents are not always found in the MS., but where wanting they are usually deducible from internal evidence. In doubtful cases a warning has been given.

<sup>3</sup> Harborne, to whom Barton was at this time secretary.

<sup>4</sup> See *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. VIII, no. 342, and Masson, p. xviii. According to the latter, Mariani had been for a time vice-consul at Alexandria under his compatriot, Christofero Vento, and had been disappointed at not succeeding to the latter's post; whereupon he quitted the service of the French for that of the English. Harborne seems to have appointed him consul at Cairo.

order had not come, we must have departed, our credett heare no longer houldinge out. We writt often formerly to this effect, as well to Your Worships as Constantinople, and certified that this was no place to live in without tradinge to some purpose, so great is the charge therof every way. Frome Anthony Bate and Thomas Baxter we received letters of the 23 June, dated in Alepo. [The] effect was to shewe howe they had consigned certeyne goods, for the some of 918 d[ucat]s gould, to be delivered us in Cairo by a muccary<sup>1</sup>, and howe they ment that John Eldred should come after with the next caravan and bringe for the some of 3 or 4000 d[uca]ts gould. So that uppon this advise we imbarcked ourselves and provision by sea to Rosetto; but at the mouth of Nilus... our germi stroke and immediatly broke uppon a sandie iland. We by Gods great providence weare saved in the little boote; other[s] saved uppon chests and by swimminge. Onely five drowned. Of our provition lost to the valewe of 150 d[ucat]s gould. After this dainger past, thanks be to God, we arived heare and receaved the goods sent us frome Aleppo, which was<sup>2</sup>... Of the said comodities as yet we sell slowly, for as yet is no time for thier sailes, every day comminge caravans frome Damasco and Aman [Hamah ?], cloyinge the markett with thes comodities... Yet after a moneth or two we doubt not to sell in some reasonable sort, and make imployments [i.e. investments] at least ten per cento better then they in Aleppo. Seinge they weare minded to send hether, we gave advise for 200 peces kersies [and] 200 bondles coniskins, for that heare ar none, nor any come in thes shippes of Venis. We hope they will make better reconinge then any other kind of comodities they can bringe, in regard of the lowe prises they beare there; and for the chargis by land, it wilbe saved in custome, for in Alexandria they pay ten per cento, and heare in Cairo they pay as yf the[y] came frome Alexandria, an ordinary dutie. We gave them also advise to send cochinitillo [i.e. cochineal: Ital. *cocciniglia*], which is at ten d[uca]ts

<sup>1</sup> Moryson (pt. 1, p. 242) says: 'they call him muccaro who lets out mules, asses, or horses.' Biddulph (p. 39) defines 'muckremen' as 'carriers,' and says that they 'set horses to hire.' The term seems to be derived from the Turkish *mekyaryjy*, 'the driver of a beast of burden.'

<sup>2</sup> A detailed list is given at f. 319 a; also a list of commodities thereupon bought, 'for accompt of our maisters the Levant Company.'

per oke, and ther was wourth but 14 of that mony (beinge 7 in gould); yet that payeth ten per cento custome in Cairo. It is requisite that heare yf we trade, the contry be furnished with mony and goods in such sort that we may waite as well the time of employments as for sailes. For heare, by reason of navigation one the Redd Sea, as also by continuall messengers goinge to and fro betw[e]ne this place and the Mecca, that have continuall advise frome all places of the India, and of the store [of] spices and prises they beare, accordingly they seeke to sell thier commodities and buye others. Besides, seeinge store heare and no buyers, it importeth much that a man have mony by him to employ. For alwayes at the comminge of shippes in Alexandria spices rise, little or much. And havinge commodities, they ar not at all tims in request, and to sell them at under price to make imployment, findinge the commoditie of the time as abovesaid, that which is saved in the one is lost in the other. And therefore, to doe good heare, it is meete to have alwayes bothe store of mony and some commodities. The Venetians, beinge not past three or four of chefe factors, do the like, and in this order advance all the commodities they buy and sell. But all merchants which come frome Mercelles [Marseilles], Florence, Scicilia, Genua, Ragusa, etc., bringinge almost all redie mony, thes buye at [the] price as the[y] find; because they must dispatche in so many dayes as by thier charterpartie they ar permitted to stay in port. So that commonly at thier comminge pepper espetially above all other spices riseth one or two d[ucats] per q[uintal]; and of all other commodities that is the chefest laden frome hence, almost all with redie mony. And for the goods they bringe, to say velvetts, damasks, sattins, taffaties, brassill, canvas, paper, almonds, chestnutts and all nutts. . . for every 1000 d[ucats] they bringe in commodities, in redy mony (to put the said away) they have at least 10,000. . . The fine flax, wherof they buy good store, is all for redie mony; but the course flax and hides they have in barter. The Venetians of all other keepe the best order in comminge of thier shippes; for yearely they have four or five, wherof three they appoynt so that they be in Alexandria port in July, August, and September, the chefest time in the yeare for makinge provition to send goods for the Mecca. Then they make thier

sailles at thier pleasure, and thier imployments at the departure of the caravan, the same beinge alwayes at the beginninge of October. So in this monthe unto the 15 of November they ar dispatched. And yf any goods advance, they sell after by little and little, with commoditie of the time, to say, ther cloth etc. which ar spent heare. And in the end of this moneth or beginninge of Aprill they have another shipp arived, with whome they send the retorne of the advansed of the aforesaid three shippes. Alwayes provided that yf any thier shippes come after the end of September, they make hir stay for hir ladinge till March or Aprill. In this order they have a most suer trade. They bringe cloth, kersies, cinaber<sup>1</sup>, quicksilver, spica celtica<sup>2</sup>, amber, counterfett amber beads, currall (wrought and unwrought); but of that the most commith frome Marcellia and Genua. They bringe also lattin [latten, i.e. brass] and coper in barrs. With suchlike this yeare the Galion Bon was cast awaye, enteringe the port of Alexandria by night; which had in hir at least the valewe of 80 or 90,000 d[ucat]s. Yf Your Wourships minde to trade this place, to doe good (as we have often written) appoynt so that the shipp doe arive in August or September, and that order may be geven to Constantinople or Aleppo to furnish us with mony, that the ladinge may be redie against hir comminge. And yf she bringe any of the commodities serveinge for the Mecca, as amber, quicksilver, sinaber, etc., then will it aquitt the cost [if] she stay in port two moneths, till contract be mad of the said commodities. Yf not, beinge onely of our contry commodities, it shalbe best to dispatche hir without the retorne of them. Then may we have the commoditie of winter for thier sailes, and so sell most for redy mony, wherwith we may by the next shipp make retorne in good commodities; other wayes it cannott be done. . . . This Bassa hath much damnified the merchants, seekinge to eate uppon them. For thes six moneths, contrary to all justice, he hath keppt the cassia sealed, to the intent, as he saith, to advance the said commoditie, of which he hath great store belonginge to the kinge; but no man buyeth of him. The Venetians have commandment frome the Port [i.e. Constantinople] to release thiers, but will

<sup>1</sup> Cinnabar (i.e. vermilion).

<sup>2</sup> Syrian spikenard (see Da Orta, p. 403).

not shewe them till the Cadylesker doe come, which is dayly expected. We also looke for a commandment to release ours, beinge 15 quintalls Zeroi. And wheras all bassas use to lett out the custome houses of all places to Jewes and others, this hath taken them almost all into his owne hands, settinge of his owne men to take customs; at whose hands all men ar evelly intreated. At Cairo in one custome house they take ten per cento of all the spices; which the costomers, havinge good store by them, now will nether receave custome nor suffer pesator [Ital. *pesatore*, a weigher] to wayghe out, nor merchant to sell, before that thier store of the kings weare sould. But the two consuls went up to shewe thier priviledges, that all men were at libertie to buy where they would; but yf that would not serve, then they offerd him to take his spices, namely peper, at price as the Moors would sell, which was 24 per quintall and  $23\frac{1}{2}$ ; but he would not for lesse then 26 d[uca]ts; insomuch as for two monethes space heare could be no bassars<sup>1</sup> made. The Venetians weare half in mind to send awaye thier shippes emptie rather then to yeald to such a newe and strange exaction. At last Venturin, a Venis merchant, secretly went and agreed with the Bassa for all his peper at  $25\frac{1}{2}$ , with condition that none might buye any peper for the space of ten dayes except Venetians. Nowe in thes ten dayes the caravan was to departe for the Mecca; and all the Venetians furnished themselves at d[uca]ts  $23\frac{1}{2}$  and 24 per quintall. The French weare faine to buye of the Venetians perforce. After the ten dayes ended, the Bassa gave license to all men; and after the lisenche geven, ther was bought, in lesse then eight dayes, the some of 3,000 quintalls of that commoditie by Turks and Jewes for Constantinople, Salanico, and divers other places, at  $24\frac{1}{2}$  and 25 ducketts to  $26\frac{1}{2}$  and 27 in this comoditie. This is the order of Cairo, espetially beinge the chefest which is laden frome hence. Ther is great store at Zues and Tore<sup>2</sup>, but they bringe it by little and little. . . . Cotton wooule at this present in Alexandria at 6 per quintall. Of London kersies and clothes heare ar not any. . . . Yf we had yearly 4 or 500 peces and 50 or 60 clothes. . . they would no doubt sell at a good reconinge. For coniskins, yf we

<sup>1</sup> *Bāzār* is here and elsewhere used in the sense of a bargain.

<sup>2</sup> Tor, on the eastern side of the Gulf of Suez.



had yearly 3 or 400 bondles, they might be sould at 5 d[uca]ts per bondle, beinge good, or  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , yf heare weare 1000 bondles. For tinne, we perceave that many come of purpose hether to buye the same for Turkia, and is a most suer commoditie. It hath bine sould fewe daies past at 15 d[uca]ts per quintall. The Venetia shipp lately arived hath brought 200 quintalls, which is come to a good markt. . . . [PS.] We ar in good hope that before this the Merchant Royall, Susan, Tobye, William and John, and the Edward Bonaventure ar arived in savetie; which God grant. We had the newes frome Misina of thier fight with xi gallies, seven of Sicilia and four of Maulta. With the first shott frome the shippes was slaine the nephewe of the Vizier [i.e. Viceroy] of Sicilia. After were slaine to the number of 150 or 200 men. Thier gallies well paid, that, had they not retiered when they did, some of them had soncke<sup>1</sup>. They mad haste to Trapana<sup>2</sup>, where they found 15 gallies of Naples; all which, by the commandment of the Vizier, armed themselves and went, all 26, to seeke the shippes; but after four or five dayes retorned, not findinge them. [PPS.] We ar now at the 25th October and have received letters frome Constantinople and Alepo. Frome Alepo they writt to have dismissed John Eldreds voyadge toward Cairo, by reason of the death of James Towerson, whose place he supplieth, and that they onely consigned hether in goods two bailes of botanes, one baile of shasses Mosolie<sup>3</sup>, which we do expect by a Moore who commith with the caravan within thes 20 dayes. From Constantinople they geve us expresse order to dispatch all things heare and depart for Tripolie [in] Sirria; the ambassiator having sent the Grand Signor his commandment for release of the cassia. . . . Yf it be possible that convenient passage be (by whatsoever waye), we, happely havinge made saile of the goods we have and do expect, in time we purpose to make imployment, and goe both first for Tripoly, the one to stay ther, the other for England. . . .

<sup>1</sup> See the account of the fight given in Hakluyt (vol. vi, p. 46).

<sup>2</sup> Trapani, at the western end of Sicily.

<sup>3</sup> Turban-cloths from Mosul.

*William Shales and J. S. at Cairo to John Bate  
at Constantinople ?*

30 December 1586 (f. 389 b)

...Since the order for our departure from hence they have sent us from Alepo bales six of silke and one bale of shar merdany<sup>1</sup>, importinge the som of d[ucat]s 5212, m[edines]<sup>2</sup> 19, of that mony; which they required [us] to imploy in peper, nutt[meg]s, and indigo, and to goe speedilie for Tripolie to meet with the ship; which we mynd to do with all speed possible. As yet we have don nothings, for untill yesterday the caravan of spices from Tore and Zues was not arived. The store is great, at the least 8,000 quintalls of peper, which is come alredie. The buyers ar fewe; only at this time a Frenchman which hath to imploye 30,000 d[ucat]s, and the Venetians have not above as much more to bestowe. Besides, by reason of the plague in Alessandria ther will (as it is thought) com but fewe shipes this yeare. [So] that all men hope they wilbe good cheape. So that, findinge to deale resonably, we mind to chardg them in Alepo by exchange for 9 or 1000 d[ucat]s gould, and so to cleare the contry. Yf not, at least the goods shalbe dispatched at prise as we find, to fulfill the order geven us. We wer in talke of a bazar of spices importinge 10 or 12,000 d[ucat]s gould, to pay in Constantinople; which if we had gon through withall, we ment to have brought the spices ther, least you should have wanted mony *or credit to discharge the same*<sup>3</sup>. If it chaunce that we deale for any great som, fear you not but we wilbe well advised and doe nothings but upon likly-hoode of profit, though they should *be sould agane in ether of those plases*... The silke was brought by the way of Dimiata, wher it arived in tim of a customer [i.e. customs official] cauled David Coen, a garbulious [see p. 13] felowe, who would needs have the tenth of the silke [as] custom, beinge his dutie [was] but m[edines] 5 per 232 drams, which may be  $3\frac{1}{3}$  per cento; with such misusing of William Lander as if they would have torne him in

<sup>1</sup> Apparently cassia is meant.

<sup>2</sup> The 'medine' (*maidin*) was an Egyptian silver coin, equivalent to one and a half aspers, and forty medines went to the ducat.

<sup>3</sup> The passages in italics are in cipher, to which a key is supplied on f. 400 b.

peces. To quiet them, that they should not meddle with the silke, he was faine to geve d[ucat]s 160 a bon conto [i.e. in the meantime], which was d[ucats] 20 more then did import the custome of the goods. So that, to aid him in the clearing awaye of the said goods, John Sanderson went with the turchman [dragoman] and in Dimiatta mad kesp [an investigation: Turkish *keshf*] of the canon [law: *qanum*] in meccami [the law court: *mahkeme*] ther. The Cady gave a cogietto<sup>1</sup> of the canon to this effect: that 50 years past the silke paid ossero [a tithe: Arabic '*ushur*'] 10 per cento, but for the great custome therof merchants would not bringe silke to that scale [market]: so at that time, that merchants myght come thether, they made it in sigill<sup>2</sup> to pay every 232 drams m[edines] 5; after which rate they have taken this 50 years. Notwithstandinge this, at the arivall of the goods hear in Cairo the customer *obtainyd of the Bassa to take acording to the canon*, and gave us great troble. We would not paie the sam but by order of justice; by which order we laid in deposito a bale of merdany till the matter wear tried. *So that, to have the frendship of the Bassa*, who gave us boyerdi [an order: *buyurdi*] that we should pay no more then the Mores did (m[edines] 5 per 232 drams), *we presented him 5 vests, hoping that he wilbe our frend as he professesh, and by this means not stand agaynst us in the realeasing of the cassia*; which if he should, we meane rather to leave the same behind us then that should be a cause of our longer stayinge her[e]. Salute, we pray you, one our parts Signor P[aulo] Mariani, and certifie him that Signor M[ariano] Mariani, flyenge from Alessandria, in company of Paulina and his brother, Pietro Mariani, his woman and child, to com hether for feare of the plague, the child died by the way, and he, retiringe himself in Bolacco [Bulaq] for not to pratick amoungest<sup>3</sup> the Francks, two dayes after his arivall died also. His brother, Petro M., upon the sorowe he toke was brought to the poynt of death, but now (thanks be to God) is recovered. *The authoritytie of the garment of Christofero Vento is no longer amongst his mar-*

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a *lingua franca* form of the Arabic *hujjet*, meaning a decree or certificate.

<sup>2</sup> Gave a formal document (*sigill*).

<sup>3</sup> Not to associate with (Fr. *pratiquer*). The object was to avoid giving them the infection.

*chaunts esteemed worth anything, nether his wisdom in defendinge them; for, upon the death of a Mesinese<sup>1</sup> under his consellidg, the Bassa made him to bring forth all his as the goods of a carragiario [see p. 53] of the King. And being demaunded more then the dead left, he varied in his answeares, that the Bassa cauled him traytour and lyer, and tould him that he would wryght to the Kinge of France to send another consul more worthy of the office. For feare wherof, to cleare himselfe, he layed the matter uppon a ritche marchant of Genua, to whome he said all the goods of the deade were delivered. So that pore marchant bare awaye the bastinadore uppon the knee bones, with great perril of his life (being an oul[d] man) to confes more then the consull had consigned to him; but he supported all without confessing anything. After [he] was realeased and the matter was conceld, and mony and the danaskes retorned, which did import 7,000 duckets....PS. Vento, the consull of Fraunce, hath onse againe renewed his capitulations. His turchman [dragoman] arived with the sam in October, and at the coming of the Cadylesker he shewed it and said that all wear obedient unto him except two Inglishmen, and mad a great complaynt unto the Cady of us; and espetially of me he said that that same day I had geven him a rebouffe as he passed in the street. The Cady promised to make us as obedient as the rest unto him. He rebuffed himsealf one this manner. Suo Magnifi[cen]sa passed by me, wher I satt in the street, and loked for revirence, wherof he had a could shute<sup>2</sup>. Beinge passed, he turned imediatlie (not having gon two pases) and shaked his fist at me, sainge he would bay [pay, i.e. strike] me one the faice, caulinge me doge. I satt still with my head covered, esteming his wourds as thoughe a doge had barked. Asse he came, and so he went, laughed at of some of his owne attendants, and in generall of all the Franks in Cairo.*

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this means that the deceased belonged to Messina; but on p. 53 we are told that he was from Scio.

<sup>2</sup> 'A cold suit' (i.e. no success).

*Edward Barton at Constantinople to J. S. at  
Tripoli (Syria)*

23 September 1587 (f. 405 a)

...I was not a little sory, at the receipt of your last letters, for the greeviouse sicknes I perceaved by them you had susteyned.... I hartelie thanke you that, in your so great vexation of bodie, you weare mindfull of my former request to you for the smaule portion of spices I requested might be sent to my mother.... I pray commend me to my good frend, Signor John Eldred, whose prosperouse retorne frome Jerusalem I am glad to heare of....

*J. S. in London to Thomas Hayes in London*

31 October 1589 (f. 341 a)<sup>1</sup>

A yeare past I offered myselfe to serve you; which at that time it seemed unto me you weare desierouse in some sort to axcept, onely that you would not my maisters displeasure. Howe it standith now, you knowe. I am at free libertie to take the course that shalbe most to my likinge. With my Ladies<sup>2</sup> good will I have to doe for my best; of whome, with the executors, rather then ther should be any doubt, I can be recommended unto you. They wish me prosperytie, which God of His mercie graunt. Divers causes ther ar for which I have no desiere to serve in the parts frome whence I came. I would, yf it pleased God, prove a Flaunders merchant, thoughe I have passed some time in other contries, which hath not bine the wourse but much better, by

<sup>1</sup> 'Coppie of a letter written longe since unto the nowe knight, Sir Thomas Haies, bemoneing myselfe unto him, because I would (after the first time) never more have gone into Turkie.... My uncle Foxall, who plased me (when his time was out) had formerly plased him with the same master (who dead is), Sir Martin Calthorpe, Knight; therfore he had cause and reason to have harkened to me, but did not.' 'He at that time gave interteynement to his man Barlie, who since is maried to his daughter; and so would never I have done, yf it had bine his happ to have had me his factor.'

Thomas Hayes, draper, was an alderman from 1603 until his death in 1617, sheriff in 1604-05, and lord mayor in 1614-15. He was knighted in July 1603. He appears to have had at least five wives, and at least twenty children. His daughter Rebecca married Robert Barlie in December 1606.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Calthorpe.

reason of some experience gathered in the wourld. I am yet younge enoughe, and the younger by howe much the more I find so great a desire to be imployed that waye. The Italian language I have. The Dutch I would not doubt but quickly attayne. I am willinge to serve you for what time and in what sort you yourselfe shall desier. I knowe you to be so resonable that I dare stand to the offer you shall make. . . . That which I have (beinge but a smaule some), yf so you please I will putt into your hands; for which, at the end of my years, you shall geve me that reasonable alowance which shalbe thought good. And yf within the tearme of the said years (which may be two, three, or four at your pleasure) it shall please God to caule me out of this sinfull wourld, that then the same shall remaine to you for ever. . . . I hope you will axcept of me as sone at my owne sute as yf I weare prayed by some rich person. I feare not report, beinge perswaided that none of the wiser sort speake ill of me. . . . At your good time and laysure I am at commaundement. . . .

*J. S. at Galata to John Eldred in England*

25 January 1595 (f. 59 a)

I knowe not well to whome to writt, for that of longe time I have not received any out of England; yett uppon occation of the alteration heare, I thinke it not amisse, with my hartie commendations, to send you the newes; which is that Sultan Murad deceased the 7th of this moneth and was buryed the same day his sonne Sultan Mahemett arived, which was the 17th. That day his 19 sonns weare strangoled in thier brothers presence, and should have also bine caried to buryall with thier father, but time would not permitt to finish thier serimonies of washinge etc. The next day at none we sawe them passe by to buryall; which was to be pitied, beinge inosents [i.e. infants], thoughte Turks. The seven vizieres went alonge before them, as the day before they did with thier dead father, in blacke, ould, bacest vestures, but one thier heads the accustomed attier. The 4 muti<sup>1</sup> (thoughte by commandement) which murtherd them weare also strangoled; 4 women left with child, which, when they ar delivered, yf they

<sup>1</sup> Dumb men (see p. 82).

be sonns, they die as the rest. Some 30 childeren he buried in his life time, and leveth alive (by report) 27 daughters<sup>1</sup>. Sultan Mahemet is esteemed to be a man severe in justice and not covetious. Report goeth he will pay his fathers debts. He hath mansued the admiral, Sigalogli, and the dignitie is geven to Halull Bassa, one of the viceroyes, who married the Great Turks second sister. The said Sigalo Vizier, as is thought, shalbe sent generall to the warrs of Hungary, in Sinan Bassa his place. This you may impart to our frends at your pleasure, commending me to all. . . .

*Edward Barton at Pera to J. S. at Galata*

26 August 1595 (f. 351 b)<sup>2</sup>

Both your writtinge and absence doe shewe a cancared mind. For wheare[as] you say I toke your christall cupp perforce, you say more then ever came into my mind; for I was alwayes affected rather to suffer then to doe injury. As alike, that I should allowe you but 8s. the duckett by exchange you take was a great discredett for you; wheras you knowe the same was paid out of my private purse, which knowe not what belonges to merchandice; as also assuer myselfe that you can shewe no letter frome them in Ingland of any disliking. Nowe, wher[as] you say I exact mony before my time, I doe not thinke one the one side that you have any order for any prefixed time, as I one the other side have commition for the receipt of my full pention when Hir Magesties affaires requiers the expence therof. And yf I exacte more then the due allotted pencion, you might then use some parte of this perversnes; thoughe then netheyer would it be lawefull, because none is to controwle me, and am to geve answeare of my accions to none but Hir Highenes. Besides, my request is just, and to the benefitt of those you caule young men, whose profite you seeme so mutch to seeke, where[as] I one the other side judge you rather doe it to make yourselfe cronicled to

<sup>1</sup> In the margin Sanderson has reckoned up that, according to these particulars, the late Sultan begot eighty-one children.

<sup>2</sup> Two earlier letters (20 and 26 August) from Barton, urging Sanderson to furnish him with money on account of his salary, are entered at ff. 347 b and 351 b.



MAHOMET, III.

*Seventh Emperor of  
The Turks.*

*A. 1603.*

SULTAN MEHMET III.





have withstood the authorytie of an ambassiator, to shewe therby your stomake and valewer. . . . Our present necessitie is so great that it cannott be supplied with lesse then 100 chequins; which yf you send or bringe, you shall have of us all sutch securitie and satisfaction as yourselfe desiers.

*The Same to The Same*

27 August 1595 (f. 54 a)

Accordinge to the conference yesterday had with Master Winckfeild, I send you a precept<sup>1</sup> for a hundered chekins. Though the affectione I have bourne you doth not deserve that you should deale so unkindlie with me, yett in part I attributt it to a pestiferous house ratt<sup>2</sup>, who of long time hath ben suspected to me. And touching yourself, when I shall heare you to be better mynded, I will geve you all desired satisfaction.

*The Same to The Same*

7 October 1595 (f. 347 a)

Inasmutch as by the Right Worshipfull Company thier order my yearlye pention is to be alowed by the Worshipfull Master Garraway, whose factor you ar, and for that it is uncerteyne when any shippinge cometh for thes parts and the perrells of the sea dangerouse, as alike it is most necessary that my pention be certayne and suer, inasmutch as by default therof Hir Magesties and [the] Compaines affaires may suffer prejudice and my creditt hinderance; therefore I will and requier you that you suffer nott sutch soms of mony as you have in your hands, of the Worshippfull Master Garrawaye or the Right Worshipfull Master Alderman Cordell, to the valewe of 1500 chequins, to be imployed one other affairs, but to reserve the same for my allowance and pention, as you will answeare the contrary<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Entered on f. 347 b.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is again entered on f. 347 b, where Sanderson notes that this 'house ratt' was John Field.

<sup>3</sup> This letter was under Barton's private seal, and Sanderson appends a note that he 'never sent His Lordship mony but under his seale of office.'

*J. S. at Pera to Thomas Cordell ?*The last of February, 1596 (*f. 58 a*)

...The tinn, tallowe, and wier taken for the use of the Gran Sig[no]r as yet not paid for, but daly and howerlie followed by Jonas Alderich, who, thoughe with great expence, hath found divers delays by the defterdare [treasurer: *defterdār*], yett doubt we not but to recover the sam very shortlie; for the Vizer hath comanded and [the] defterdare bine bribed; which not accordingly performinge, we purpose to troble the Gran Sig[no]r withsuplications as oft as he shall com abroad.... We hope in God to be paid without much troble, and that very shortlie; untill when Jonas Alderich will not depart, who by the h[onourable] Lord Ambassiator is appointed, or rather intreated, to take to [the ?] office of consull upon him in Petrasse; who hath axcepted of the sam and taken out divers comandments behoufepfull in the affaiers of those parts and peasable passinge in the said office; which howe Your Worship will like I cannot imagine, in respect of his years and former government, but am perswaided Your Worship will consent, in that the Lord Ambassiator hath thought him most fitt; whose judgment, I suppose, will take place with the Worshipful Company, and so confirme [him as] their consull. Howe profitable to Your Worship in particuler, to have your servant comander, I leave to Your Worships wise consideration. With my humble dutie beinge remembred to the Worshipful Master William Garraway, I besech Your Worship to certifie [him] that by two sondry conveanc[es] past I sent His Worship the first and second bills of exchange of 750*li.* sterling, for half a years pentione delivered the Lord Ambassiator, of which in my formers I have enlarged....

*The Same to The Same ?*14 March 1596 (*f. 58 a*)

...For the cominge of the present, in my opinione wilbe time enoughe the next winter, for by that tim[e] out of doubt, somewhat will com to passe, ether good or bad, for this empiet.... For cloth at this present her[e] is very slacke saile. Silke now

her[e] little to be got; but within a mounth or two is thought wilbe good store out of Percia by the caravan which usially onse a yeare cometh from thence. . . . I had thought to omitt this weeke to have writt Your Worship, by reason that tomorrowe we hope to receave the mony due by the Gran Signor; which should have bin paid the last Sonday, but that the spahies and janesaries then tooke their pay. . . .

*Edward Barton at Pera to J. S.*

[? April 1596] (f. 347 a)

Peter Scot hath advised me of the slight answeare you gave him for my pention, the necessitie of which is so great that I have to [? no] laysure to expect longer commoditie, and therefore pray you presentlie to send me at least a hundred ducketts, and to provide the rest againste the morninge, in good gould, for aspers will not passe; and your discreation may judge that to reteyne me heere one day may be a great hinderance to my voyadge.

*The Same to The Same*

28 April 1596 (f. 347 a)

I have received the 3000 aspers you sent by P. Scott, and desier you to bringe tomorrowe the remainder of the 1000 d[uca]ts taken of Signor George Dorrington; [it] importinge my credett to pay houserent and other expences. And presentlie I will geve you bills uppon the whole, and commandment for the repayment, uppon the tresurer. [P.S.] Yf the aspers be good, I shall make them passe, the rather yf you geve a part gould therewithall.

*The Same to Simeon Broadstret at Aleppo*

9 May 1596 (f. 348 a)

...I advise you to have received yours of the 17th Aprill, by which I perceave you have newes of my settinge forth to warre with the Gran Signor, and of soms of mony received heere, requisite to my said voyadg; which said soms you warne me that you and the rest of the merchaunts will not satisfie, and that for

two causes: the one, because you have no order therto of the Company; the other, because you say you will crosse George Dorrington; which reasons howe meane they be, you[r]selfe may well perceave, yf you duellie regard the authorytie Hir Magestie hath geven me in thes parts, not bound to the consent of your generalities, not limited with the permition to be expected frome the Company, but fully remitted unto me to govourne my actions accordinge to my owne discreation, which shall alwayes tend (I hope) to the exaltation of Hir Magesties reputation in thes parts and inlardgment of the Companies benifitt; in which respect I must plainelye advise you that you shall waunt in your dutie, yf you shall not consent to the axception of my bills presently sent for George Dorrington uppon your treasurer, of the 8th May 1596, for a thowsand chequines received heare of Signor John Sanderson, havinge sent my commition under seale of office to the treasurer therfore, and by the present waurne and charge you and the rest for your private grudges not to be a hinderance unto my designes tendinge to the honore of our contry and your private weale. . . . I requiered two faire horse[s] and cheape, being informed that ther we should be both well and chepelie furnished; far unminded to disbourse 600 dollars for two horse[s], and therfore, thanking you and the rest for your redines therin, am glad they weare not bought and sent.

*Edward Barton at Pera to J. S.*

3 June 1596 (f. 348 a)

For that (as you knowe) we ar appoynted to accompany the Gran Signor to the Hungarie warrs, and the tearme of our retorne is uncertayne, we have thought it expedient to cary with us our whole years pention, beginninge due the 3d. of August 1596 untill the 3d. of the same moneth 1597; uppon which pention we have alredie taken frome Signor Jonas Aldrich, of the goods of Master Cordell, a thowsand five hundred chequines; and esteeminge it to[o] much partiallitie, by lainge all the pention one mans necke, to be to[o] burdensome to one particuler man, and beinge justlie informed that you have divers soms of mony in your hands belonginge to sondry of the Company, we have

thought it behouffull, consideringe our present necessitie, to warne you to supplie our neede uppon our said pention, to the valewe of a thowsand or more chequins, as you shall find yourselfe able<sup>1</sup>...

*George Dorrington at Aleppo to J. S. at  
Constantinople*

23 June 1596 (*f.* 400 *b*)

...Heare is come a cadie frome Damasco which is mansulled [see p. 58 *n*] and goeth within thes 10 dayes at farthest for Constantinople, in company of whome I will send my foresaid goods with a malem<sup>2</sup> of this place; and for more securitie goeth Jasper Tient and two jentellmen, beinge brothers, which have bine at Jerusalem<sup>3</sup>... Nowe, Signor John, is come to my hands yours of 30th May, and therinclosed a second bill [of] exchange for my 1000 peces [of] gould; but (as in my last) hetherto I am paid nothings, by reson our merchaunts heare will pay me no consoledge, and in regard that I have charged myselfe unto the Company for all sutch consoledge as shall growe due unto them duringe the time of my beinge vice-consull, and have the Worshipfull Companies letters so to doe, I doe nott thinke it convenient any treasurer should be chosen till Master Sandies comminge... Meane time reason would that all men should pay me consoledge for the ships gone home and those which ar nowe come, for so is the Companies order; but in conclusion, we have a nation<sup>4</sup> heare more obstinate then wise, and I am patient and suffer mutch, for that [I] would geve no discontent; and that maketh them to trioumph over me. But God sendinge Master

<sup>1</sup> At *f.* 50 *b* will be found a copy of a requisition by Barton, dated 4 July, 1596, for 400 gold ducats belonging to John Bate and Company, in the hands of Sanderson, for which sum he has given a bill drawn upon the Lord Treasurer. See *The Dawn of British Trade*, p. 267, for the consequent dispute in London between the Privy Council and the Levant Company as to the liability for the amount.

<sup>2</sup> 'Malims are chiefe carriers' (Biddulph, p. 39). 'They call him malem who conducts the merchants goods' (Moryson, pt. 1, p. 242).

<sup>3</sup> These were Fynes Moryson and his brother Henry. The latter died at Beilân, on the journey to Scanderoon, on 4 July, 1596. See *infra*, p. 165; Biddulph, p. 39; and Moryson, pt. 1, pp. 247, 249.

<sup>4</sup> Meaning (here and elsewhere) the community of English merchants.

Sandie hether, he beinge a man of wisdom (as all men report), I hope all thinges wilbe redressed. Otherwayes, for my part I will sone bid Alepo adiu, for I am weary and seeme ould, thoughe young in years, by reson of troubles passed in this country.... Heare are four Venetian shippes in port which have brought in mony and commodities above two millions; three more shortlie expected. So that [it] is thought all comodities will rise, silke espetially. A French shipp arived in Tripolie; three more heare howerlie expected. So they with thier mony shall doe what they please, and we with our tinne and kersies what we can. God sendinge the Minion frome Venis, I hope we shall have some mony to put away our comodities; which God graunt. Newes out of England that Calis is taken by the Spaniards<sup>1</sup> and since beseged by the French kinge by land and by our Englishmen by sea. God graunt it may be againe recovered. 200 shippes departed out of England, in which ar 12 noblemen [and] 40,000 soldiers; to what place [they] ar gone no man knoweth. Sir Francis Drake hath taken Porto Rico and the Havana, with losse of 600 men and two shippes<sup>2</sup>. God graunt he may have a newe supplie sent him, therby to fortifie well those places, for so much importeth....

*Edward Barton at Pera to J. S. there*

[undated] (f. 404 a)

...As touthching what you requierd for Georg Dorrington, that I should make him consull, which is his onely desier, yourselfe knowe howe loth I am to deale in sutch matters without authoritye out of England; which respect onelie yf it had not bine, yourselfe longe since should have injoyed the same. But yf you have desier he should be consull, then advise him (as havinge conferred with me) that at least he procure the firms<sup>3</sup> of five or six merchants, consentinge to his preferment. Or yf you have a desier therto, I will send you thether....

<sup>1</sup> In April 1596. The succeeding statements were incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> This was Drake's last voyage (see Hakluyt, vol. x, p. 226).

<sup>3</sup> Signatures.

*Ʒ. S. at Pera to Thomas Cordell in London?*June 1596 (*f.* 57 *b*)

...Som days sence the mony dewe by the Gran Signor for goods taken by Sinan Viseir<sup>1</sup> hath bene recovered with great travell and no smaule charges.... By His Lordships comandment we have delivered him 1500 d[ucat]s gould by exchange for pention of the half yere to come, begininge in Agust next. The first bill Your Worship shall receive by the next.... The necessitie of the matter required no lesse, if His Lordship (as he saieth and we thinke) be bound to the warrs with the Gran Signor. And further it behoveth that (although but upon our imagination) we geve Your Worship to understand that His Lordship will, by vertue of another straight comand, take of us 1500 d[ucat]s gould more, gevinge us his bills, accompaned with effectuall order to Alepo to repaie so much to Signor Wm. Alderich or other ther for Your Worship out of consoledg; if cause the chest aford not so much, then to exact it upon the mony and goods of whosoever merchant or merchants ther remanyng. This will come as well to pase as if it wer sent to Sio and so alonge in the George. All mony [that] can possible be made Jonas Alderich taketh with him to Sio, for which place he purposeth speedely to depart; and in his company Master Sandie, the consull of Alepo, to met the George, and so along for Scanderonn.... I have also a good will to cleer all things and depart shortly after them for Sio, for thether I am called by Signor William Alderich; but doubt all things will scarcely be ended in such tim that I also may be ther before the George....

*Edward Barton at Adrianople to Ʒ. S. at Pera*11 July 1596 (*f.* 350 *b*)

Knowing you wilbe glad to heare of our wellfare, we advise you to have arived heare in Andronoplie the 10th of this present with a most prosperouse voyadge and (that will content you and not

<sup>1</sup> Sinān Pasha was five times Grand Vizier, and held that office at the time of his death in the spring of 1596. He must be discriminated from Cigalaloghlu, who bore the same name and was also (for a short time) Grand Vizier.



displease us) with very smaule charge. I would requier you, Signor Agent, to geve advise therof to the Counsell, I meane in perticuler unto Sir Robert Cicill; inferringe that we heard no newes by the waye wourth the advise unto His Honnour and therefore writt not. The Grand Signor rested heere five dayes, and will rest in Sophia ten dayes; so that we ar in good hope to overtake him before he come to Bellograde. All our company is in good health (God be prayسد), and my perticuler helth increaseth by my travaile, beinge lightened of a great burthen of malancolines, and comforted by daylie newe sights. Yet I cannott assure you of my resolution to retorne; but will advise you with the first, when myselfe am resolved, and wishe you your contents. My request to you, Signor Gio[vanni] Sanderson, is to make me all the mony you may, as well that due by John Field, that of the cloth left with you, as that of Signor Petro M[ariani] (to whome I pray commend me), and that also of the French ambassiator, by whome, I pray, send me what newes you can learne, and also by what other commoditie you can find.

*George Dorrington at Aleppo to J. S. at Galata*

17 July 1596 (f. 402 b)

...This bearer is padre unto the French consull. His busines hether I knowe not, but imagin it is for absolute commandments that all nation[s] whatsoever, English and Venetians excepted, may come under the French ambassador; which I hope My Lord will prevent, and ether obteyne commandments for protecting all straingers, or else a commandment absolute for abridginge [i.e. debarring] all those that ar the Sultains and Hir Magisties enimies frome this place, uppon paine of confiscation [of] thier goods. So that My Lord obteyning ether of thes, lett me alone to effect them, in despetto [despite: Ital. *dispetto*] of [the] French consull; I say, to assist Master Sandie, my date being expiered, yet still wilbe redie (as my dutie is) in anything which may concerne My Lord or the Worshipfull Companie, as to triall referr me. It is heare reported that some of our contrymen have written My Lord that I have heare received of the Spaniards 800 dollars; which I would weare so, but before God I never received

to this day but 100 dollars. [I] was promised 200 more, which as yet have not received, nether thinke I ever shall. And yet [I] advised My Lord of the receipt of 300 dollars; and I protest unto you I spent, in folowing this matter, 120 dollars....[PS.] For the strife twext you and Aldrich I am sory, yet make accompt you esteeme the lesse, in regard he is a lose felowe...that all his frends have cast of for his wicked behaviour....

*J. S. at Pera to Sir Robert Cecil in London*

25 July 1596 (f. 406 a)

...I have received a letter frome My Lord Ambassador, dated in Andranopolie the 11th present. The Gran Signor stayed ther five dayes; purposed to stay in Sophia 10. So that His Lordship hopeth to overtake him before he arive to Belgrado....The people heare live quietlie ever since the Grand Signors departure; and (God be thanked) is good plentie of bread and all kind of victualls at this time....

*Ralph Fitch and others<sup>1</sup> at Aleppo to George Dorrington,  
Vice-Consul there*

4 August 1596 (f. 394 b)

We ar assembled heare together, as well little as great, with one unities of hart and mind, brefelie to geve you to understand that we wilbe no longer under your youke and government; which indeed hath bine so farr out of order that we have good cause to refuse you. You have not hetherto redd unto us the statutes and orders of the Company, which you and we ar faythfully to obay, but keeps and laies them up, that we by no means see them. You unfaythfully and untrewlie denie and seeme not to knowe them, nor howe to governe us by them; and we ar altogether ignorant of the lawes we live under. Which hath wrought this effect in your bad nature, that your government is altogether out of order. Our Company commaundeth that all thinges done by the consull or vice-consull for the time beinge be registrid in the cansalaria<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Elizeus Sotheren, John Mun, and eleven others signed, in addition to Fitch.

<sup>2</sup> Ital. *cancellaria*, meaning here a registry. On f. 339 a the record of some courts of merchants held at Aleppo is certified by James Haywood, 'chancellor.'

and yearelie a copie of all things past sent home in a booke to the Company. You have nether cansalaria nether ever kept register yourselfe of anything that passed; which doth argue you would not have your doinges come to light. Is it not a shame that hetherto we have not had so much as a generall booke, to writt in before you what goods the malem receaveth of everyone? Which howe necessary a thinge it is, lett everyone judge. You, contrary to the consuls orders heartofore, and contrary to the prescript order of the Company, will receave consoledge into your owne hands; and we denienge to pay, you like a tirant you [*sic*] sweare by Jesus and Justus<sup>1</sup> (and othes ar as common with you as wourds almost, which is an unseemelie thinge in a governor) that you will take our goods perforce. As for your justice done emongest our nation, you stand for a sipher, for we thinke fewe or none ever came to deside thier controversies, as knowing you have hidd the lawes of the Company frome us; and as towthcinge the lawe of our contry, alasse! you ar altogether ignorant. Lastlie, your defence [of us ?] against Turks we cane in no case alowe of; condemninge your abilitie therin, both in the order of your proceedinges, in the manner of your behaviour, and your unorderlie speakinge, or not speakinge at all. And to your waunt therin you have taken a turchman so simple of witt and ignorant in languadges that what you speake amisse he makes it wourse; whearby, when you come before a magistrate, you ar a laughinge stocke to all the audience. Besides all this, which nearlie towcheth ourselves, you ar publiquelie a man defamd in all the citie; Turks caulinge you a Jewe, and Jewes say you ar a Turke, and Christians reproche you by the name of both Turke and Jewe. We could report divers tricks of yours that doth in a manner merrett the same, but will not, for brevities sake. Thus we by you ar all defamed likewise. For all sutch reasons above-said, and many more which ar to longe to repeate, we cannott nor will not beare your government any longer. We speake this absolutelie, for that we ar to leave and to take you, beinge indeed no longer vice-consull, but as a person mansuld per adviso. Heare we might end; but as yett you being in place of vice-

<sup>1</sup> A good mouth-filling expletive, perhaps a reminiscence of Colossians. iv. 11 ('Jesus, which is called Justus').

consull, we pray and desier you in good peace and frendshipp to resigne the said office, and voysse [i.e. vote] with us to the confirmation of another. . . . Nowe we rest for your answeare, which we pray lett be breffe, negativelie or affermitivelie. . . .

*Edward Barton at Belgrade to J. S. at Pera*

8 August 1596 (f. 348 b)

...We ar safely, without any disgust by the waye, arived in Belgrade, wheare we expect [i.e. await] the Grand Signor his pleasure to passe over the river Laura<sup>1</sup> in Hungaria; which I hope will succed within thes fewe dayes. At my arivall God graunted me sutch favoure in the Grand Signor his eyes that, by his imperiall commaundement he freelye gave me, [he] sett at libertie, not onelie those 22 persons of the Empiروهis familie, but six<sup>2</sup> other imprisoned in Buda, of no smaule credit and importance; whome I meane, God willinge, with my drugaman to send to the Empiroure so soone as we shall come to Buda, and hope all my travaile and expence shall not be in vayne. I pray you direct the inclosed to the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cicille, to whome you may writt your verditt, sainge that, as my voyadge is of honorable fame in thes parts, so is to be hoped thereby many wourthy servises. . . . You may besides aleadge the great expence I am at, and the requisitenes that I be supplied frome Hir Highenes. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Sava? The Sultan actually crossed the Danube between Titel and Peterwardein (Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 612).

<sup>2</sup> In Barton's letter of 5 October, 1596 (f. 349 a), he corrects this figure to five, and Sanderson notes thereon: 'Thes 22 of the Empirors houshold had bine imprisoned in Constantinople about three yeares, and at last, for Hir Magesties sake, were geven to hir ambassiator; the Grand Signor also de-fraing the charge of them, even to the Empirors court (as alike of the other five).' The prisoners were members of the suite of the imperial ambassador (Frederick Krecowitz), and had been seized, together with their master, on the outbreak of war in 1593 (see *supra*, p. 58; Von Hammer, vol. II, pp. 582, 584; and *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. IX, *passim*). Their release at this juncture was doubtless intended to facilitate the pacification between the Sultan and the Emperor which Barton was endeavouring to bring about. The imprisoned ambassador had died in Hungary, and the five servants accompanying him were accused of his death (Knolles, vol. I, p. 742).

*John Huntlie and other Merchants<sup>1</sup> at Aleppo to  
J. S. at Pera*

11 August 1596 (f. 395 b)

...Master Sandie beinge dead, and having had the experience howe little the presence of vice-consulls doth availe us emongest Turks, Signor Georg Dorringtone, our late vice-consull, and we, the whole company of merchaunts heare resident, with one assent and consent have elected Master Rafe Fitch our absolute consull in the place of Master Sandie, amplie to execute all sutch thinges as he had in order to doe; and have confirmed him before Bassa, Cadie, Defterdare, and all the great men in the citie. He is a man of great government and gravitie, and one whome the Company in Ingland thought fitt for that place and earnestlie intreated him to axcept of the same. This we thought good to certifie you, for that you ar nowe agent to My Lord. And therefore we earnestlie desier you that, at the request of no man whatsoever, you attempt nothinge against this our consull, by procuering commaundements or otherwayes, as you favoure us and the Worshipfull Companye in Ingland, whose good likinge and confirmation we knowe we shall have hearin. And we doubt not but our honorable Ambassador will alowe of our choyse, and send us by the first his confirmation under his seale of office. All which we hope you will consider, and will do nothing without our said Ambassadors consent hearin....

*George Dorrington at Aleppo to J. S. at Constantinople*

11 August 1596 (f. 397 a)

...My last was of the 10th past, in which I certified you of the death of good Master Sandie, our consul, in Adena [i.e. Adana]. ... In my said I certified you that I would remaine as vise-consull till order frome our h[on.] Lord Ambassador or the Worshipfull Company; which imediatlie after I could in no wise performe, by reason it pleased all our nation to joyne themselves together and to make election of a newe consull, more of spight and envie

<sup>1</sup> In all fifteen sign (but neither Dorrington nor Fitch).

then any reason which could move them [there]unto. John Mun of the one side, whome hath maligned and stomaked me of longe without any cause geven him or any of his, as God is my judge; John Huntlie and Simon Broadstret another. The reason, as I imagine, because I wish you [well ?] as a faythfull frend, and speake of Field as he deservith. . . . For Thomas Juitt, which is in our owne house, his reason to prefere Master Fitch and hinder me is for that he hath sutch goods as Master Fitch brought hether to sell and make imployment. . . . For others of our nation, all younge men which come addressed to some of the said, so that of necessitie they must yeald to what the other[s] will have them. So rest I, Signor John, mutch discontented of one sid, and of the other highelie pleased, for that am nowe fora di fastidio<sup>1</sup>. . . . My desier is that you make My Lord Ambassador hearewith throughelie acquainted, whome havinge hearof throughelie considered, [I] doubt not but will geve them little thanks for this thier proceedinge. They objected many matters against me. . . . of all which, in presence of Master May our preacher, I cleared myselfe, to my credett and thier shames. Notwithstanding, they would have thier wills performed, which was to have me displaced; and thereuppon toke thier othes uppon the bible to put hart and goods together, whatsoever it cost them; which I seeinge, thoughe (as you knowe) might have withstood them, thought rather to yeald to thier unlawefull demaunds then to put the Worshipfull Company to expence. So willed them to do what they would. I would, having reason, for my discharge protest aganst them for divers causes. First, for that I was constituted by My Lord Ambassadors patent to continewe till another absolute consull weare sent out of England by Hir Magestie. Secondlie, confirmed by the Grand Signor his command absolute till comminge another out of England. Thirdlie and last of all, absolu[t]e order frome the Worshipfull Company under thier firms [i.e. signatures] that at any hand I continewe till the comminge of Master Sandie and then to him to be accomptable of all thinges. All this I shewed them for my confirmation, and they of the contrary could shewe no order whereby to displace me and apoynt another; yet notwithstandinge have

<sup>1</sup> *Fuora di fastidio*, free from molestation.

done as aforesaid. And because that at this time we find good sailes and better imployments for the better benefitt of our principals, thier is at least 1000 dollars geven alredie in presents, more (I assuer you) then I have geven in a yeare and a half that I have supplied the place. But in fine [i.e. conclusion], yf the honourable our ambassador and you (whome nowe supplieth his place) be hearwith contented, I must have patience. Onelie doth rest this, for preservation of my honour: that yf in case you will have Master Fitch remaine as consull, that you send me, or cause My Lord Ambassador to send me, a patent of vise-consull-shipp, for mortalities sake, most effectuell, and a commandment frome the Sultan made in full and ample manner to this effect. . . . [PS.] . . . My good frends would have had our drogman and Master Sandie his two men to have said that Master Sandie by will mad Master Fitch his vichele [deputy: *vakil*]; but foresaid would not by no means.

*J. S. at Pera to Sir Robert Cecil in London*

28 August 1596 (f. 406 a)

...Frome the Gran Signor and Vizier was sent a capogie [see p. 82] of purpose to hasten him [i.e. Barton] to the campe; who motioned His Lordship to have left his cariadge to come after, but His Lordship hasteth as he may, not leaving his coatches and cambles [i.e. camels]....Some reporteth that the Gran Signor hath altered his first purpose, which was to have laid seage to Egria [Eger: see p. 60 n], intending to take first revendge uppon Transylvania. Others say that Sigalo, in company with Hassan Bassa, the sone of Mahemett Bassa, Vizier, with a band of Tartars, is departed for Transylvania. Eighteen dayes past came newes to the Great Sultana and Vizier that the Grand Signor with his hoast was passed the Danubium and enteringe the enemies land; whearfore presentlie proclamation was made that prayer should be in the fields; which was performed the 12th present, two mile without the waules of Constantinople. By credebile report ther was to the number of 6 or 700 thowsand Turks at the least. (Also the Sultana freed all the prisoners of Constantinople and Galata which weare for debt, satisfienge thier

creditors; and many others, except for notoriouse crimes, also sett at libertie). This was begone at the breake of day, and continued some three or four howers. For the space also of six dayes after they used continually great devotion in all thier churches of Constantinople. Hether is sent a jentellman Ganuesi [i.e. Genoese], cauled Palaneva, who at the campe offered himselfe to the Turks, aleadinge himselfe to be alied to Sigalogli Vizier. [He] was of them willinglie received, and by the Grand Signor presented with five tulbents [i.e. turbans] and a vesture of gould, advancinge him to a degree cauled Mutiferaga<sup>1</sup>, with promise of 7,000 aspers per annum timar<sup>2</sup>, that is, a farme of that valewe, duringe his life. The said runagate remaineth in the house of Sigallo in Constantinople. Heare is also credebly reported that the Kinge of Poland hath sent an ambassador to the Great Turke, and that the Poles ar resolved not to suffer the Tartars to passe throughe thier contry. A smaule caravaine expected heare daylie frome thence argueth that they determine to hould peace with the Grand Signor. . . . [PS., 1 September] Newes is come frome Belgrad, wheare the Grand Signor was, that his resolution is [that] the abovenamed Hassan Bassa, with a troope of 200 thousand, shall goe against Transilvania; Sigallo, with the brother of the Tartar, 300 thowsand stronge, to be vauntguard and goe uppon Egria; [with ?] the Grand Signor himselfe, in whose companye, they say, is the Tartar Hann [i.e. Khān], Kinge of Tartars, in person, with the rest of the Great Turks innumerable armie. This reporter sayth that the Lord Ambass[ad]or of Ingland was arived at Belgrado, and had had conferance with Ebrim Bassa, Head Vizier, who with the others make great accompt and very honorabely intreat him. Since his departur I received onely one letter frome His Lordship. . . . Four gallies lately arived frome Alexandria in Egipt, laden with gunpoulder and suger. The hasnaies [*khazīna*], that is, the revenewes, of Damasco, Tripoli, and Alepo, arived latelie at Bursia [i.e. Brusa], and so went over the direct way to the campe, not at all comminge to Constantinople according to former custome. And

<sup>1</sup> The *Mutaferriqah* was the principal bodyguard of the Sultan (Lybyer, p. 129). Covell (*Early Voyages*, p. 198) speaks of the '*mustafaracas*, which are the *Lancie sperrate*, the Grand Signor's life guard.'

<sup>2</sup> See Lybyer, p. 100.



30 dayes since a messenger came to the Vizier for 200 thowsand sultanines, had them delivered him, and retorned with all speed to the campe....

*J. S. at Pera to Sir Robert Cecil in London*

3 September 1596 (*f.* 406 *b*)<sup>1</sup>

This present 3 of September I received the inclosed frome the Honourable Lord Ambassador, of whose prosperytie the Almightye be prayسد. For suerlie, as His Lordships voyadge is of honorable fame in thes parts, so is to be hoped therby many wourthy services, espetially that His Lordship shalbe recedent in place wheare the forces of the east and west empiers shalbe in ballance of thier uttermost valouer; which urdgeth him assueredly extreame and lardge expence. No doubt Hir Highenes will have a royall respect therto, being solicited by Your Honour, and of hir princelie liberalitie alowe the neadfull; for this Hir Magesties ambassador his indevours (by God His permission) will increase Hir Highenes fame througheout the wourlde....

*George Dorrington at Aleppo to J. S. at Constantinople*

22 September 1596 (*f.* 398 *a*)

...At this present I have no place to writt in, beinge trimminge up a magasin [*Ital. magazzino*, a warehouse] to make a chamber of, and as yet do lie in the tarras; Master Fitch havinge put me to my choyes, ether to avoyd or lie in the magasin; a great alteration, but in all for a while I must have patience, pretendinge [*i.e.* intending] in Febrewary or March (for anything I knowe) to depart in Venis shippinge for Venis and so for England....

*J. S. at Pera to The Levant Company*

25 September 1596 (*f.* 398 *b*)

Three dayes since came to my hands the inclosed [see p. 154], whereby Your Worships may perceave the proceedinges of those your servants. They requier me not to doe against thier election;

<sup>1</sup> The original is at Hatfield (see the report of the Historical MSS. Commission on that collection, pt. VI, p. 365, where this letter is quoted).

which thier request, albeitt I may, and reson would I should, contradict, yet I will not, but purpose to send a messe [Ital. *messso*, a messenger] expresse to the campe with all thier alegations; which when His Lordship hath considered of, no doubt [he] will doe that shalbe for the best. In thier election they have not done amisse, for Master Fiche may be as fitt to execute the office of consull as another; but in thier confirmation without advisinge the h[onourable] Lord Ambassador, it sheweth presumption and waunt of discreation, or rather disobedience, both to the ambassador and Your Worships...and also is cause of chardge which neaded not, and in the end may geve them smaule content that thus for thier private grudges have satisfied thier owne humors, little regardinge the sequell... Of the Worshipfull Master Cordells and Master Garrawayes we delivered 3000 chequins, which the Lord Ambassador toke for a years pention before his goinge to the Turks campe; 1500 payable by His Lordships bills uppon Your Worships in England, and 1500 by his bills uppon the consull in Alepo; with also 268 dollars 40 aspers which His Lordship had disboursed in presents to the vicereyes and others in Your Worships busines before his departure. Of me likewise His Lordship toke 1000 chequins of gould, which I had in my hands of Signor George Dorringtons. Thes soms, due at Alepo, Master Sandie, the consull, had geven the ambassador his wourd to answere presentlie uppon his arivall ther. What nowe wilbe done, when I heare I will certifie Your Worships therof. Other mony of Master John Bate he [i.e. the ambassador] hath geven bills uppon the Right Honorable the Lord Treasurer; payment whearof His Lordship maketh no doubt. The said bills ar of 500 [*li.*] sterling, for that valewe heare disboursed of the said Master Bates and Company. Thus His Lordships nead was supplied...

*The Same to John Huntlie and other Merchants  
at Aleppo*

5 October 1596 (*f.* 396 *a*)

Your generall letter I latelie received, perceivinge your election, which no doubt is good and wilbe alowed; but your to[o] hastie

confirmation I cannott assuer you howe it wilbe taken, it savoringe more of envie then neadfullnes, with disobedience unto some that, I say, will not take it very well. I after the receipt of your letter recauled my intention, which was to have taken out commaundements contrary to your expectation. I have sent a messe expresse to the campe. Within two monthes, I make accompt, answeare wilbe ther with you. In the meane time I hartelie pray you agree together, and hinder not any goods hereafter that is pretended to be sent for thes parts; for assuer you I meane as well to all, and am as redie to discharge the part of a frend to every one of you as hearetofore I have done in perticuler to Master G. Dorrington....

*Richard Staper in London to J. S. at Constantinople*

9 October 1596 (*f.* 346 *b*)

...My sonne in lawe, Phillipp Grimes, makeinge me acquainted with your letter, I doe understand of your good health and howe Master Barton, Hir Magesties ambassiator, hath left you for his deputie in Constantinople; which I am glad of, yf it be to your profit and good likinge. I have this day received a letter frome you to Sir Robert Cissill, Hir Magesties prinsipall secretary; which tomorowe morninge shalbe sent to the courte (which is ten miles hence), God willinge. His Honore hath sent me a packett of letters for the said Lord Ambassiator, which hear-inclosed I send you. His Honore hath charged us deeply for his voyadge, which we must gett so well as we canne againe. But assuerdly our chargis be so great and our sales so badd at Aleppo that most men be weary of the trade, and I thinke it wilbe hardly mainteyned, yf our chargis continewe so great. For Master Locke is lawinge with us at Venis aboute his voyadge at Alepo, where I would be glad to heare that Master Sandie weare safely arived. I pray you at some convenient time letts understand such occurrences as ther passeth, and the like shall you have frome hence. But at this present heare is no newes since the retorne of our fleete at the takinge of Cales, but onely that a league is made betwene Hir Magestie, the Frenche kinge, and the States of Holland and Zeland, and 2000 men is gone frome hence to

Bullin [i.e. Boulogne], to joyne with the Kinge of Fraunce his fources this winter; but what shalbe done as yet is unknowne. Heare is such great regarde to thes warrs that the present<sup>1</sup> is forgotton, and I feare it will so be this yeare; yet some of the cloth is alredie provided by Thier Honors order six monethes past, which they will to kepe redie till they geve order for other thinges. The Spanishe gallies have taken the George Bonaventure of Master Cordells in the Streights [i.e. in the Mediterranean], going for Sio frome Venis; also a flibote<sup>2</sup>, laden with currants for our Company. So that you see what a dangerouse trade we have. For we stand in great doubt of the Charatie and Minione in thier voyadge frome Venis to Scandarone....

*Edward Barton at Belgrade to J. S. at Pera*

9 November 1596 (f. 350 a)

By a messo of purpose arived this day, I have received divers of your letters, as alike many formerlie by other convayances; for which I thanke you, and for answeare to your said letters remitt you to my retorne, which (God willing) shalbe within tenn dayes after the arivall of this bearer; sutch hast the Grand Signor maketh in his retorne. I pray you assist Gio[vanni] Field in what you may for provition of wood, hay, and wine in my house against my retorne, and sollicit the drogueman to gett in my provition of wood alowed by the Grand Signor, though they expend somwhate therin<sup>3</sup>. I will remitt the discourse of what hath passed heere untill my retorne, which shalbe short; and for the affaires of Aleppo deferre them untill my comminge to Constantinople, when I hope to geve you all honest satisfaction.

<sup>1</sup> The present for the new Sultan.

<sup>2</sup> A large flat-bottomed vessel (Dutch *vlieboot*).

<sup>3</sup> Robert Withers (Purchas, vol. II, p. 1586) notes that all the foreign ambassadors, except the Venetian, 'lie at the charges of the Grand Signior, for from his owne store they have allowed them wheat, barlie, pulse, wood, coles, hay, the custome of their wine, and all other necessaries to spend in their houses, and from the defterdar so many aspars per diem; which provision, though now of late it be somewhat hard to be gotten in, yet (by gifts and importunitie) in the end they receive the greatest part of it, though the officers will share with them.' See also *infra*, p. 166.

*ŷ. S. at Pera to Sir Robert Cecil in London*

13 November 1596<sup>1</sup> (*ff.* 407 *a*, 407 *b*, 384 *b*)

...Newes frome the campe...six dayes since came to my hands...copie whearof foloweth<sup>2</sup>...Uppon Monday the 18th October, the Caia [see p. 18 *n*] of the Persian ambassador arived, and was received into the citie more honorably then in time past hath bine accustomed for any of his degree. His forecomminge was to informe of his masters aproche and to knowe the Viziers pleasure whether the ambassador weare to remaine in Constantinople or procead towards the campe to meete the Grand Signor. Thursday, the 21th, came newes to the Sultana by letters frome hir sonne of the takinge Egria; which day, with two dayes after, heare was great triumphe, in discharginge ordinance frome the Seraglio, Tapan, and out of all the shippinge in port. Satterday, the 23th, the Captaine Bassa, Halull, arived; who the night before his enterance into port was overtaken with a storme without the poynt of the Seraglia, in which one gallie sonke and all the people; as also five other brake uppou the shore of Constantinople. Others weare waunting of the whole fleete, as heare is reported, to the number of 13. His enterance (as before said) in the best pompe he could. The Great Sultana, his wifes mother, caused the Bustangie Bassi to welcome him with five peces ordenance dischargdged frome the Seraglio. The 4th of November the Persian ambassador was received into Constantinople with great pompe, in manner as mutch as if the Great Turk had not bine absent; and so conducted to a pallas, wheare he expecteth his comminge; who by all reports wilbe heare before the end of this moone<sup>3</sup>. The said ambassador is brother to the mother of the Persian hostadg heare deceased. He came [in] very princlie

<sup>1</sup> The original is at the Public Record Office (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. III). There are a few variations, but none of any importance.

<sup>2</sup> The letter, which was of 5 Oct. 1596, and addressed to Sanderson by Barton, appears also at f. 349 *a*. It has not been reproduced, because it has been printed by Purchas (vol. II, p. 1358), from a copy supplied by Sanderson. It describes the siege and capture of Eger by the Turks. Purchas also gives (vol. II, p. 1354) an account, written by Glover, of Barton's experiences during the campaign.

<sup>3</sup> For this embassy see Von Hammer, vol. II, pp. 611, 621.

and richely; of his traine at the least 150 gentillmen of accompt; seven horses of respect led before him, whose sadles and furniture weare very royally imbossed and sett with pretiouse stones. It is reported that all (Percians) which came with him ar in number very neare 1000 persons. Four gallies, the day before his comminge, weare apoynted to transept his stufe and peoples marchantdies frome Asia side to Constantinople. Six gallies brought him and his [people] frome Scutari; which gallies weare furnished in bravist manner. The tenth of this present came newes of a victory had uppon the Christians, who incountered with the Turks not farr frome Strigonia<sup>1</sup>, as the Grand Signor was one his waye hetherwards. The Empirors forces sett uppon the squadron of Ebrim Bassa Vizier, who fled and all the whole Turkish campe retiered. The Christians gained the ordinance of Ebrim Bassa, turninge the same against the other Turkish troops, and so made play some fewe howers and killed whilst [i.e. until] they weare weary; aproching the Grand Signors tent, and pitched thier standard uppon his hasna<sup>2</sup>. Of his etch oglans<sup>3</sup> (which ar the pagis aboute his person) weare slaine (as the report heare goeth) to the number of 300. Sigall Ogli bestirred himselfe, incoradginge the Turks, aleadginge thier Mahometan lawe. The Grand Signor also himselfe armed, and incoradged his people. So that at last they came so hottelie uppon the Christians, who had alredy tiered themselves, that many they tooke, but most retiered; recovered againe thier owne ordinance, and as mutch more of the Christians<sup>4</sup>. Sigalogli for his valoure was presentlie made Head Vizier; at which time the Grand Signor imbraced and kissed him, etc. But he besought His Highenes to geve him the admirallshipp; who answered that he had

<sup>1</sup> Strigonium was Gran, on the Danube, about 25 miles north-west of Buda-Pest. The battle, however, took place at Mezö-Keresztes, about 16 miles south-east of Erlau.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *khazna* (*khazna*), 'treasury.'

<sup>3</sup> *Ich oghlan*, a household servant.

<sup>4</sup> For Barton's account of the battle, in a letter written to Consul Sandy, see Purchas (vol. II, p. 1358), who obtained it from Sanderson. Another account, also derived from Barton, will be found in *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. IX, no. 524. The fight is described in Knolles, vol. I, p. 767, and in Von Hammer, vol. II, pp. 615-17. See also in Brit. Mus. *Nero B xi* (f. 223 a) a copy of a letter in Italian from the Sultan to Queen Elizabeth, giving the story of the campaign.

deserved the empier, and that they would live brothers together in earth and reygne in heaven with thier Profitt. Trioumphing heare hath bine at the victory, and great rejoycing that the Gran Signor hath foyled his enemies and is uppon retorne to Constantinople....

*Ralph Fitch at Aleppo to J. S. at Pera*

26 November 1596 (*f.* 393 *b*)

...Yours of the 3 and 6 of October I have received, wherein you writt that you hear by others of the companies contrasting [i.e. disputing] with Signor George Dorrington and being in like maner certified of my acceptinge the place. And accordinge as you writt, so it is most troublesom; and at my beinge in England it was mocyoned unto me ther. I did refuce it; yet her[e] my chaunce is to fall into it. I assure you I never desired it, and so perswade yourself that I serve it, not for ne[e]d, but rather to pleasuer the company then for any benefitt unto myself. How matters have passed her in times past I knowe you are not altogether ignorant; and what hath ben since my cominge hether was more then I willinglie would ether have heard or sen. The great controversies which were her amoungest the company wer not to be used amoungest merchants, and especially in this place wher we are. The company<sup>1</sup>, findinge themselves agreved therat, did elect me, and I assuer you I would not have taken it but at ther great entreatie and to end som controversies that wer her amoungest them. And som of them would not accept of Signor George nor pay him any consolage. And wher[as] you thinke the Company<sup>2</sup> will not alowe me that I shall demand, if they will not alowe that which is fitt for the place, they shall send another and I will yeald it up with a better will then ever I entered into it; and I have written them to that effect. And for my confermacion in the place I have written to my Lord Ambassador and the company in generall to that effect, with the order of our proceedings; whose aunswear I doe expect. I sent my letter by the

<sup>1</sup> By this and the previous references to 'the company' Fitch means the members of that body resident at Aleppo.

<sup>2</sup> The authorities in London.

companies conveyance, for that I was not acquainted with you nor with any other; but herafter, havinge occasion, I will make bould with you, and so request you to doe the like with me, and you shall find me ready in anythinge I can. And for Signor George, I knowe he cannot truly report but that I have used him in all kindnes, and much better then he hath used me. And for any that are desirous to send comodities for that place, I will not hinder them; for Signor George had sent 20 sommes<sup>1</sup> and they wear as far as Bylande<sup>2</sup>, but a gentleman ther in company dyed [see p. 147 n] and the goods, beinge in troble, retorned hether. Since which time Elizeus Sotheren hath sent som clothes [i.e. broadcloths] thether, and so may other men, if it please them, and I will not hynder them; for I make accompt that none will send but they that have comission from ther masters or els are sufficient of themselves. I perceave per yours that you have delivered 1500 chekins and 268 d[olla]rs, which is to be paid here to John Muns and Elizeus Sotheren; which sommes, for that they have not the bills of exchange with My Lords seale, they will not yeald to paye it; but that beinge sent, ther shalbe good payment made.... We are very scant of mony and much indebted; therfore lothe to pay any, except good warrant comes....

*J. S. at Pera to Richard Staper in London*

4 January 1597 (f. 403 a)

...Gevinge all dutifull thancks for Your Worships fatherly approved good affection continued towards me, of which I am out of doubt by the good likinge Your Worship hath of His Lordship leavinge me her[e] respondent, in his forced absence at the Hungarishe warrs; which my beinge I do assuer Your Worship was nether to my will nor proffitt, but as partlie constrayned I have served, somewhat, I feare, to my losse, as in my next I may advise to Your Worship by a servant of the honourable Lord Ambassadors, called Jasper Tomson, which within five dayes departeth to Venis and so overland, with letters to Hir Magestie.

<sup>1</sup> Fitch (*Early Travels*, p. 9) speaks of 'a some or camels lading.'

<sup>2</sup> Beilān is on the Aleppo-Scanderoon road, about three hours from the latter place.



Concerninge good Master Sandy the bad newes I know Your Worship hath heard longe since. By the first the Lord Ambassador will send commandments to establish Master Fitch consull; who to me by his letters seemeth to be a very discret man and no doubt will serve the place to Your Worships liking and be pleasinge to the company ther; which I wish for the good of all mens. Other I have not then that the Gran Signor entered Constantinople Sonnday the 12th of December with triumphant pompe unspeakable. A mile without the cittie gatte the Lord Ambassador, takinge his leave, kissed his hand, and so in health (the Almightye be prased) is retourned; and never at this Port will waunt extraordinary credett; if his mayntinance may be replenished as needfully shalbe required. . . . [PS.] The Lord Ambassador is so busie in contrastinge with the French ambassador, who seketh to renewe his priveledge, havinge upon Tusday last geven his present; in which his priveledge he would that all nations, except Venetian and English, should com under the French banner. As yet [he] hath not obtayned his purpose, albeit he dalie bribeth; but we [are] in great hope that our ambassador [his ?] fure<sup>1</sup> (as justice requireth) shall prevaile before the French his gr[e]at purse. Which beinge graunted us, together with an extraordinary grace of proviotione out of the Great Turkes kitch[en] for His Lordships expence in diet (towards which His Lordship hath alredie allowed him three shepe a day, with rise, huny, etc.) wilbe cause that he shall not be so chargable unto Your Worships as heartofore, but rather be occasion that whosoever serveth the place hereafter, Your Worships with such one may be at little or no expence. . . .

*The Levant Company*<sup>2</sup> to J. S.

9 March 1597 (f. 51 b)

...Thes be to certifie you that the Lord Amb[assado]r hath heretofore written us for som sufficient man to be his secretary; and now, findinge a man meete for the sam, we have compounded with him to com thether for His Honours service, as we doe

<sup>1</sup> The copy has been made by Hanger, who seems to have read 'fure' for 'favourite.'

<sup>2</sup> The letter is signed by Richard Staper (Governor), William Garraway, Henry Anderson, Thomas Simonds, and Nicholas Salter.

writt him. And because we stand doubtfull whether His Honour be retorned or no, therefore we praye you, when this bearer, Signor Henry Lillo<sup>1</sup>, cometh thether (which is the partie before spoken of) wee pray you give him enterteynment into our house ther at Pera till the Lord Amb[assado]rs pleasuer be knowen what he shall doe; and for his charges wee are content to answeare the same. Wherefore wee pray you to befrend him what you may. And if the Lord Amb[assado]r will have him com to him to the warrs, then wee pray you to helpe him to pase with good company thether, that he may com to him in saftie. . . . And forsomuch as Master Sandie, the late consull, died in his journey from thence to Aleppo, therefore wee have now sent over another consull from hence, beinge called Master Richard Colthurst, gent., who is gone in the ships to Aleppo. Therefore we desier to have a comandment for the placinge of this Master Colthurst to be consull; which we have written to the Lord Ambassador for, but if it maye be as well had ther at Constantinople, then we doe pray you to take out such a comandment and to send it for Aleppo when you may find any convenient suer messenger to carrie the sam; and for the carredge you may put a doller or two port to be paid for the carredge at your discretion, derectinge the sam to be delivered at Camburgo<sup>2</sup> house in Aleppo, for ther he will be residente. Therefore we pray you, as so[o]n as you can conveniently, to procure the sam and send it. And thoughe the company ther at Aleppo have appointed one Master Fitch (a sufficient man), yett, because our orders is that the consull must be made here and here take his othe and enter into bond for the trewe and upright usinge himself in his office, and therefore we doe not allowe of their choice ther att Aleppo, but doe send this Master Colthurst thether, as aforesaid. . . . Also we are determind to build a warehouse, for to keepe our goods drye and in saffetie, at Allexandretta, as the Venetians and Frenchmen have; for the doinge wherof we desier to have a comandment, not only to doe it, but that we may use it quietlie for the English natione when it is done. Wherefore wee pray you, when the other comand-

<sup>1</sup> According to Biddulph, Lello had been a student at Oxford and at one of the Inns of Court.

<sup>2</sup> The consul's headquarters. It is termed 'Caan Burgo' on f. 396 b and 'Canbargo' on f. 399 a. Biddulph (p. 42) calls it 'Cane Burgol.'

ment is procured for the consulship, that one may be procured likewise for this matter; and that we may build it to the first storie with stone, for the surer keepinge of our goods in the night. We trust this wilbe easilie had, for the Venetians and Frenchmen have alredie builded the like houses for the keepinge of their goods together, and we desier to doe no more then they have donne; which we thincke they will never build before they have comandments from thence to doe the same. And thus, hoppinge you will stand our frend for thes things, which is your good as well as ours, for that wee acknowledge you a brother of our Company, and therefore will seeke the benefitt therof what you may....

*J. S. at Pera to Richard Staper in London*

17 April 1597 (f. 402 a)

I remember that heartofore Your Worship hath written me about a certaine debt mad heare by Robert Gould to the Patriark of Constantinople; wherof hetherto I could geve Your Worship no incoradginge newes of hope [of] the recovery. Nowe Your Worship may understand that the h[onourable] Lord Ambassador hath, by favoure of the Grand Signor, mad a newe Patriarke<sup>1</sup>—a man both godlie, virtuouse, of good life, and one of the learnedest of the Greeks of this adge, beloved, and long since desiered to that dignitie by all the chefe Gretians, both sperituall and temporall, of Constantinople. Nowe at last [he] hath taken it upon him, to the content of all. His late left degree was Patriarke of Alexandria. He is cauled Pa[dre] Meleta, a Candiot borne, which some may gesse a blemish in his prayse, for Paule disallowed that people<sup>2</sup>; but the Almightye axcepteth for good and justifieth whome He will. With this man Master Aldrich is very well acquainted; to whome the Lord Ambassador hath writt earnestlie to come and sollicite the matter of the forenamed debt.... I writt Your Worship that I had delivered Master Sandie at his beinge heare, which he disboursed in expencies and chargis, the some of 505 chequins gould, payable to

<sup>1</sup> See *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. ix, no. 568.

<sup>2</sup> The Apostle's uncomplimentary allusion to the Cretans occurs in the Epistle to Titus (ch. i. 12).

George Dorrington in Alepo. The newe consull, Master Fitch, for a private grudge to G. Dorrington, handeleth me but hardlie in the satisfieinge therof, and will not yet concent to pay it. . . . Our commodities daylie brought frome Alepo and heare well sould by marchaunts, Turks and Moores; to say, tinne at 2400 aspers, kersies at 2000, coniskins 700 aspers per bondle, fernando-buck<sup>1</sup>, the best at 2000 aspers per quintall, cotchenella at 1500 aspers per oke. Divers merchaunts ar come latelie out of Poland; they have brought wyer, lattin plates, knives; nether coniskins nor tinne, but most redie mony. An ambassador frome the Kinge of Poland expected heare within lesse then two monthes. He is a nobleman, they say, of great accompt; his trayne, the[y] report, wilbe about 600 horsse<sup>2</sup>. The Pertian ambassador departed a month since. Some say the Grand Signor will goe out with his militia [i.e. army] as far as Andranopoli; others thinke the contrary. Mutch talke heare is; but as yet no certaintie. . . .

*Ralph Fitch at Aleppo to Edward Barton at Pera*

20 April 1597 (f. 394 a)

...I received Your Honours of the 18th Marche, wherby I understand it hath ben reported to Your Honour of disagreements between Signor George Dorrington and myself, by means wherof I should constreine him to goe to Turkish justice to obtaine his just pretences, the first wherof I perceave is for allowance of his honest expences mad in tyme of his viceconsoladge. To the which I answere that, at his first demand therof, auditors one both sides were appointed and nomynated in court, accordinge to the Worshipfull Companies orders in London, with bonds promised on eyther side to abyde ther arbitermente; which by myself and the company her on their behalfe was performed and geven and one his parte delayed, after his promise made, and at last utterly refuced; wherupon the auditors also would not

<sup>1</sup> 'Fernandobuck' or 'Fernambuck' was an English version of Pernambuco, in Brazil, and the commodity here intended is brazil-wood, from which a red dye was obtained. The name originally denoted the Indian sappan-wood, used for the same purpose; and Brazil was so called because its Portuguese discoverers found there the brazil-wood (or rather an allied species) with which they were already familiar in India.

<sup>2</sup> See Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 636.

auditt his accoumpt, as by the copie of the corts herwith sent<sup>1</sup> Your Honour may well perceyve; which I protest was noe faulte of mine, but his owne, whose juste complainte herin Your Honour may see to be only malice. And so in consequent the rest. For the just demand of the mony which Master Sandy, the late consull, spent, I ever held it reason that satisfaction should be made; but, for that demand was made therof when her was not sufficient money to disburse for Your Honours bills (beinge before sent), as yt is very true that the companye ar at intrest untill ships com to dischargd the som, for which cause it was thought good in cort to referre it into England, without denyinge payment therof but only the causes abovesayde, as in my forme: I certefied Your Honor. And by the next (God willinge) Your Honour shall receyve a certifycate from the merchants, with thei firmes [i.e. signatures] therunto, in testimonie of theis truthes which now am inforced to omytt, by reason of the messes sodein departure, and withall this beinge my fevour day, which it hat pleased God to visite me withall. For procuringe arrs<sup>2</sup> from All Basha, I doute that, if I should goe about to doe so, it would b presently discovered unto the Venecians, by reason of his favou and somme of their conversinge with him; which John Mary would not have knowen unto them. But I have procured it from Corte Basha alredy, and sent it Your Honour by Rejeppo [Rejeb] which I hold to be more sufficient from him then from All Basha, by reason of his authority in the place her. I doe hear certeine but of on[e] shippe bounde for Skandrone; which I hope longe will arryve ther; who yf she shalbe apointed for Constantinople, I will to the uttermost of my powre hinder her course; and withall send those things which Your Honour wriote of, if I shall know of any shippe that shall com for Scio. As far I understand, the shipe that comes hether is bound for Venyce.

<sup>1</sup> Entered on f. 399 a.

<sup>2</sup> A representation to the Sultan (*arz*, a petition).

*Ralph Fitch at Aleppo to J. S. at Pera*

28 May 1597 (f. 393 b)

At this instant I have receyved yours of the 22th and 28th Aperill, wherein you do accuse me in divers places of your letters with unreasonable and bad dealinge towards you; wherein you do me great wrounge. The cause is for not payinge the 505 chekins. I had thought a reasonable answeere would have satisfied you. It is not I, but the company in generall did thincke it necessary to writt to London to have our warrant before we paid it; consideringe that the Worshipful Company gave Master Sandy in his remembrance not to take up at Zant above 100 ch[ekins] and at Constantinople not above 200 check[in]s. I expect the Companies order with the first; which I hope wilbe to your content. For my mysusinge of George Dorrington, if I knowe wherof he had accused me unto you, I doubt not but I could cleare myself by certifycates under the companies hands, as I did not longe since unto His Honor [i.e. Barton]. And wheras you writte that I make dowte that the mony was not delivered to Master Sandie, if you peruse my letters well, I writt you that I make no doubt therof but that the mony was paied unto him. And you thinke it myght be pilfered away from him. I judge not so, for I thinke som of them that wer in company are honest; if they had bin otherwise, they might have taken the 1000 ch[ekins]. And wheras you writt that I answeare you colericklie, in that you writt me whether I was partener with Master Grymes or Master Salter, if you peruse my letter well, I knowe you can conster [i.e. construe] no collar out of it. Yf you doe, I myght find a great deale more in yours; the which, for shortnes of time, I omitte....

*George Dorrington at Aleppo to The Same*

21 June 1597 (f. 398 a)

...[The] 10th detto [June] arived the Exchange and Great Susan in savetie; in which ar come many passengers, emongest whome is come Master Richard Coulthurst for consull, a very honest man.... I am in great disgrace with my master<sup>1</sup>, by reason thes

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Sir John Spencer (see p. 172).

12 monthes he hath not received any letters frome me.... Edward Abbott [is] come to stay in my place, and I to go home at retorne of thes shipps frome Zant.... Ther is come some 11 thowsand peces [of] kersies, and 800 barrells [of] tinne. God send good sailes; for imployments is no doubt....

*Edward Abbot at Aleppo to J. S. at Pera*

3 July 1597 (f. 399 b)

...You shall understand of my saife arivall at Alexandretta the xth of June and her[e] at Alepo the 30 detto; beinge in perfitt health, I prayse God. Since my coming up little hath hapned. The place stored with comodities, and at good price, to say, nutmegs at d[olla]rs 145 per k[intal]; maces, 5½; cloves, 4; indico, from 80 to 140 d[olla]rs; silke from 10 to 11; cotton dear, 50 d[olla]rs; gaules, 30; our kersies in no great request, for redy mony worth d[olla]rs 18 shorts, and longe at d[olla]rs 22; tinn at d[olla]rs 80 per kintalo. John Mun and myself purpose to send som 30 kintalls tinn unto you by the first carravan, for I see we shall never sell the half of it her, the place so cloied....

*Francis Dorrington in London to The Same*

16 July 1597 (f. 320 a)

...I have long sence perceived how my brother hath ben maliced; which is not to be wondered at, for he that servith Sir John Spencer, and will followe his busines effectually, cannot be otherwise then hated; but the matter were not great if his master, for whome he hath purchased evill will, were on[e] that would consider it; but I assure you he considereth nothing but what is for his one benefit.... The present, I perceave, is by My Lord earnestly expected; but before the next spring cannot be sent. ... I was minded to have sene Constantinople onc[e] againe, but of late am taken tendy<sup>1</sup> with a maryadg matter, [which] now (God willing) is to be effected about a mounth hence<sup>2</sup>.... Our

<sup>1</sup> An obsolete form of 'to attend.' The phrase seems to mean 'preoccupied.'

<sup>2</sup> A pedigree in the *Visitation of London*, 1633-35 (Harleian Society), p. 235, shows that Francis Dorrington married Hawes, daughter of Simon Horspoole, merchant.

fleet in November (som 130 sayles) departed from Plimouth the 10 present, but not knowne for what place<sup>1</sup>. Yet som emagin they are gon for the Treceeres<sup>2</sup> or else for Faroroll<sup>3</sup>, a place near the Groine, where the King his forces by seay doth ley. God g[r]ant the sayed fleet good suces.

*Thomas Mun at Leghorn to The Same*

18 August 1597 (f. 317 a)

...The Earle of Essex hath ben this mounth at seay with a greater army then the last yeare by 2500 men; and should have had many more gent[lemen], if Her Majestie would have permitted them. The just number of shiping I cannot advise you; but of Her Majesties ther are 18 of her best shipes. I praye God send good succes....

*Thomas Cowley at Venice to The Same*

10 September 1597 (f. 320 b)

...For newes from England: our armatta, being at sea 14 dayes, put back againe with contrary winds, and by last letters of 24 July weare at Plimoth and other ports upon our cost, but extended [intended ?] to late [take ?] the first wind for ther departuer; being in all 130 sales, most great shipes; on them 8,000 soulders, besides mareners and many volentary gentlemen and others....Master Thomas Munnes departed henc for Legorne two dayes past to met the Pelegren; and Master Northen is to departe this weake for England bey lande....

*Edward Barton at Pera to J. S. at Aleppo*

29 September 1597 (f. 316 b)

...We heare so smalle comfort of the present<sup>4</sup>. And I marville our frinds in Aleppo doe not more dilligently sollicit the same, for there owne benefitt and surtie of there trade, knowing that

<sup>1</sup> It was the futile expedition to the Azores under the Earl of Essex.

<sup>2</sup> Terceira, in the Azores.

<sup>3</sup> Ferrol, on the north-west coast of Spain. 'The Groine' is the neighbouring port of Coruña.

<sup>4</sup> The present intended for the Sultan.



our privileges be not yet confermed. I cannot wright to the Company more then I have thereuppon, and therfore will expect ther resolutione....

*Henry Lello at Pera to J. S. and Anthony Marlow*

15 February 1598 (f. 318 a)

...The lose and untimely death of my Lord Ambassiattore here, which how dollorus it hath ben unto me God...knoweth. And to discourse to you of his sicknes and maner of his death, funerall, and what sence hath happened, would aske a longe time, which I now have not, but refer you to my next...[PS.] He was buryed honorably, having about 300 persons accompaninge his corpes to the watterside and so retourned, for he was buried at the monistary 20 miles of. The French ambasitore and he became frinds before his death.

*Edward Abbot at Aleppo (?)<sup>1</sup> to J. S. at Scanderoon*

18 February 1598 (f. 319 b)

...I am right sorry of my Lord Embassadors greivous sicknes, which, as Henery Lello writtes me, incressed daley, so that he is gone into Constantinople to change aier....

*Henry Lello at Pera to J. S.*

2 March 1598 (f. 318 a)

...[PS.] God sendinge you into Englande, I praye you be earnest with the Company for sendinge the present; for that importeth much their wellfaier in these parts. The French imbassiattore and My Lord became frends before his death. He now demandeth for certine writtings which I will not deliver, and therfor secreatly he informeth the Bassa (who is his great frend) that the Quene will not send any present; which have bene yett the staye of my pension allowed me (which was My Lords afore). Yet he s[p]eaketh me faier.

<sup>1</sup> In the earlier part of the letter Abbot refers to the wet and wearisome journey Sanderson had had from Aleppo to Scanderoon.

*Elizeus Sotheren at Aleppo to J. S.*

5 March 1598 (f. 320 b)

...Here is no alteration or newes sence your departure. . . . Master Coulthurst and Master Maye in a sorte made frinds by Signor Ed. Abbott, but never wilbe any great kindnes betwene them, but from teeth outwards. . . .

*Henry Lello at Pera to J. S.*

18 March 1598 (f. 317 b)

...I have written to the Company at large howe necessary itt is the present be hastened, especially for the establishinge of an ambassiatores and conferminge ther cappitilacions, which most not be delayed, My Lord beinge dead. And how necessary it is I hope you will informe them att large, consideringe the unconstantnes of theis Turks. Allthought hetherto I have passed well with them, yet doe they daly demaunde the same. . . .

*Elizeus Sotheren at Aleppo to J. S.*

21 March 1598 (f. 320 a)

...This morninge to all our greaffs here in gennerrall wee had newes that My Lord Embassadore is dead in Constantinople of the fluxe. So for this we have in truth great cause to be hartely sorry; and more for that in that place is now none of our nation cappable to supply his rom. I wishe it had not ben your happ to have come away before this chance had happened, for now ther is none fitt in any sort to performe the place; being Harry Lyllow, for want of a better, [is] faine to supply. . . .

*J. S. at Scanderoon to Richard Colthurst at Aleppo*

23 May 1599 (f. 307 b)

...Master Biddell, the minister sent to the ambassator, did requier me to writt you in his excuse for not resolving to com to Alepo; but I refused, telling him playnely that I would not impach [i.e. trouble] myselfe in ther matters. . . . I tell you, in the

faith of a frend, the Company wilbe offended with you if he go to Alepo, and with him for contrar[y]ing ther order. For the other<sup>1</sup> I am suer the Company will not (for so they said) be at chardg to mantayne him ther any longer, nor any other before they be out of debt; for in generall they are agreved at the extrem chardges and impass[it]ions ar as great as the costome....

*Richard Colthurst at Aleppo to J. S.*

26 July 1599 (f. 311 b)

Your last from Scanderoun of the 8th of Jun I omitted to answer, for that I was sick at that instant; therfore writt not to any by that conuaience; nethier have any occasion worth the sam at present, but only for good usance. Master Biddell hath ben extreemly sick, but now (thanks be to God) is well recovered. His cariadg geveth great content to the hole nation, and to my-sealf great hope of the continuance therof... I pray you advise me by the next the saffest way to direct you my letters, that they may not be intercepted by your good frends that know the tricke of ould, etc. The Nave Leona arived at Scanderowne som three or four days past, but no letters from England but one to Masters Coks man, who writteth of the death of Master Rafe Ashlye<sup>2</sup>, with the arivall of the Angell, the Exchang, and the Susanne, and all the Straitts fleat, thanks be unto God. All sorts of spices soden is falen deare in Aleppo... [PS.] Instantly [I] have received letters from Sir Antony Sherly<sup>3</sup>, who is returned for England by way of Ruscia; hath had wonderfull great intertaynment of the King, with many exceding rich geifts from the King and 8000 ds. towards his chardges. His brother remanyeth in Percia till

<sup>1</sup> Evidently May, the preacher who had been sent out in the *Hector* (see *Early Voyages*, p. 36, etc.). On 11 Sept. 1600 the Governor of the Levant Company (Smythe) wrote to him, reminding him that he had been sent out to Aleppo as chaplain, and had afterwards been recalled and Biddulph sent to take his place, whereupon May, instead of returning to England, had proceeded to Constantinople. The letter orders him to come home immediately (*Dawn*, p. 281).

<sup>2</sup> A Levant merchant, who is mentioned in Hakluyt (vol. vi, p. 40) as being at Patras in 1586.

<sup>3</sup> For Sir Anthony Sherley's adventures in Persia see *The Three Brothers* ... *Sherley* (London, 1825). The brother whom he left in the country was Robert, the most famous of the trio.

his returne. God grant his vioag turne us to good, but yet he turneth us no mony. I pray you writt me what news you have ther from Percia....

*J. S. at Pera to Richard Colthurst at Aleppo*

23 August 1599 (f. 311 b)

...That Master Bidell contenteth the company ther [i.e. at Aleppo] it is well, but had ben better if he had followed order first.... Master May likewise pleaseth her[e] greatly, as I suppose. ...The ships [*sic*] arived at Constantinople the 16th present, and shall enter (God willing) one Sunday or Monday. She is not yet paynted all out. The instrument [i.e. Dallam's organ] in setting up at the ambassators house, to be seen by the Bustagy Bassa and other frinds before it be presented.... A great trayne her of Englishmen as ever in this part at any tim before with the ship.... God of His mercy in His good tim send us all well into our native contry, from whenc, once agayne setting foot, I will never retorne.... Our nation ar so contrasting that they will not obay that ordered in England concerning the furnishing of the ambassator; but ther contentions are in wayne, for at last they must....

*The Same to Edward Abbot at Aleppo*

23 August 1599 (f. 65 b)

...For the 2 per cento you speake of, it is but halfe factoridg. I take 4, and so will alowe no lesse, except it be such busines as other take paines in besides myselfe and then (as you say and do) I thinke 2 per cento sufficient. For your pictur, it was at Venis. I could not cary it overland, and Signor E. Barly hath happely brought it hether to me, wher in my chamber I have placed [it] as cheafe, and therby am put in often remembranc of you....

*The Same to The Levant Company*

25 August 1599 (f. 306 b)

...The Hector arived hear the 16th present. Tomorrow is purposed she shall enter in port. The Gran Signor hath appointed to be by the watersid at his place of pleasur, of purpose to see her.

The Lord Ambassator hath thought good, for the more shew of royalty, to hav[e] hir newly painted; which is don, and som new streemers of silke also mad here for hir beter ador[n]ment. The expectation is gr[e]at, and the expenc[e] will not be smale. Ther is hope all will be well performed; which don, I will further advise of. The company here (as E. Barly principall) doth not alow, nor will not accept of, the order taken ther by Your Worships concerning the ambassator; flattly denyng ether to pay imposition or consoladge, but especially consoledg; saing they have no order therof from ther masters. The aut[h]orytie here may and will (I thinke) inforce them; thought som foolishly sticke not to say they are a company as well as you, and will alter orders; which inded was begone at Scanderona concerning the precher. Other hath said all ther [i.e. in London] do not consent when comition is geven under but the govonor and treasurer. For that, I brought an instanc[e] of the like deniall at Venyce, and tould them what after was said and don in your court. I know not whether ther wrangling will availe. His Lordship hath author[it]y, and will no doubt in time use it.... I would Your Worships would send new comand direct by the first, to cut of cavilacions that may hapen hereafter....

*J. S. at Pera to Nicholas Salter in London*

25 August 1599 (*f.* 305 *b*)

By many, no doubt, [you] wilbe advised our and [the] ships safe arivall.... The ambassator and we all frends; who ar purposed, as his desier is, to accompany him to kisse the Gran Signors hand, which wilbe within thes 14 dayes.... For George Dorrington, his frendship to me is fayned and his ingratitude great. Master Francis Dorrington is my better frend.... Good Master Salter, you ar the frend I most depend uppon. Have, I pray, a like care of me, and in the next shipping adventure for Surria [i.e. Syria] all the remaner of mine in your hands, assuering the half, both outwards and homewards; for that last you used for me, the assuerance eat up all the gaines, for, considering the time, I had bine better [to] put [out ?] my mony at 10 per cento. Master Hanger, befor my departure thenc[e], was desierous to

have adventured somewhat for his sonn my servant; to which I would not condiseend [i.e. agree]. But nowe, uppon a little promyse (thoughe indeed I cannot praies mutch), yet in consideration I am desierouse my said servant should be incoradged and prosper in the wourld, yf it please his father to bestowe any stocke uppon him, I pray you do me the pleasure to take the same of him and imploy it with mine, and in the same manner assuer the half. In the name of God lett it go for Surria....

*The Same to The Same*

8 September 1599 (f. 305 a)

...[PS. 21st.]...I send you the first bill of exchange of William Birkhead, with a letter of advise. This partie was very earnest with me for to supplie his waunt, which indeed was very great; so for Master Leates sake, and also partlie knowing his father, with seinge this young Birkhead to be tractable and reformable, I hope I shall have thanks, besides good payment. For I have both counselled him and brought him in favoure with the ambassator, insomutch that His Lordship was willing I should healpe him as I have, and shewed me whearin Master Leat writt that he would geve me order to pay for his diet; which the ambassator purposeth not to demaund, for he keeps no tabeling [i.e. boarding] house, but any Englishman that remaineth ther may eat and drinke freele. I pray you advise me by the first howe willinglie the bill is paid, and whether it be his fathers pleasure that I shall deliver him any more mony heare; for his purpose is to stay with the ambassador a yeare or two. Having received this said mony, I pray you, good Master Salter, at any hand deliver the same to my brother the preacher and bid him pay it to the partie I owe interest mony.... Whearas before I writt to adventure that of mine to Alepo, yf you hould your purpose of sending hether, then in the name of God lett me be ther an adventurer....

*George Hanger in London to J. S. at Pera*

10 September 1599 (f. 293 a)

...Her[e] hath ben great hurleburle. Rewmor cam that the Lantatho<sup>1</sup> with 40 saylles galles and 120 saille ships [was] cominge for to spoyle this plas, and that they wear at hand one the soden; so that all the sowth parts of the contery wear up in armes, to the nomber (as I hard) 157,000. In the end vj galles be aryved at Slewes [i.e. Sluys]. We have spent a great dell of mony, but nothing done of any seyde [i.e. side] worth the writtinge. The rest of his flett ar gone (as it is sposed) to waft [i.e. convoy] home the Indees fleet; som say, to mett the Flemesh flett that spoyle the Gran Canares, but they ar all com home, exsept som 35 sayll that ar gon for Brassell. The Flemengs have found traffyke in the East Indees and com home very rich<sup>2</sup>, and going agayne in good redynes. It well be a hurt to your Company, but they now ar in hand to sett forwards for that plas, to advenyer to see what will be don<sup>3</sup>. They loke [i.e. lack] royalls of plat [i.e. silver]<sup>4</sup>, for that is it that doth servis ther. I pray God send us pesse, for that is neadfull hear. Theys wars do but bringe povert[i]e wher it is. . . I pray you wright me howe you do like of my son, that, if anything be ames, I may advis him; but I hope well of him, which I pray God grant.

<sup>1</sup> The Adelantado (Governor) of Castile, Martin de Padilla, had collected a large fleet, intended, it was supposed, for the invasion of England. It went instead to the Azores, in search of the Dutch squadron which had committed depredations at the Canaries, but it returned to Spain without accomplishing anything (*Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. ix, nos. 812, 820; Chamberlain, pp. 56, 58, 61). The proceedings of the Dutch were described in a very rare pamphlet (*A True Report of a Voyage made this last Summer*), printed in London in 1599.

<sup>2</sup> Four ships of the fleet sent out in April 1598 under Jacob Cornelisz van Neck had returned to Holland about the beginning of July 1599.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the preparations made in London in September and October 1599 to set out a fleet for the East Indies; see *The Dawn*, pp. 1-11.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 21, 41, etc.

*J. S. at Pera to Thomas Simonds<sup>1</sup> in London*21 September 1599 (*f.* 304 *a*)

...This next weke the ambassitor goeth to the Gran Signor<sup>2</sup>. The cotch was very well axcepted of the Sultana<sup>3</sup>. She sent the cotchman 50 d[ucat]s gould, and a grop<sup>4</sup> of 3 or 400 to the rest, with t[w]o gomes<sup>5</sup> of cloth of silver, one to the secretary and the other to Master William Aldrich, who went to deliver the sam three miles from the cittie, wheare the Great Turke remaneth. The Muftie<sup>6</sup> dead one Thursdaye and buryed a Fryday. Now I knowe ther wilbe no more words of the seven load<sup>7</sup> of mony he demanded....

*The Same to The Levant Company*21 October 1599 (*f.* 307 *a*)

The efect of my last unto Your Worships was that hear ther was deniall mad of payment [of] the imposition and consoledg according as Your Worships had in Ingland ordered befor the Hectors departure. The Lord Ambassitore having shewed what Your Worships had writt him and also my committion, which in no sort some would obey, saing that two men wear not the whole Company and that they had no order from ther masters, nether would exsept by compolsione pay anything; which their words since they have effectually maintayned, for all my perswaysions and reson could not prevaile with them; insomuch that the ambasitor was forced to use his authority; which they

<sup>1</sup> In the 1600 and 1605 charters of the Levant Company Simonds was nominated as one of the governing body. He was appointed a 'committee' when the scheme for a voyage to the East Indies was launched in 1599, and was a subscriber to the First Voyage of the East India Company. He married Elizabeth Mun (*Visitation of London*, 1633-5, vol. II, p. 274), and this accounts for his reference in a later letter (MS., f. 268 *a*) to 'my brother [in law] John Mun.'

<sup>2</sup> Lello had audience on 24 September (*Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. IX, no. 821).

<sup>3</sup> This coach had cost 600*l.* The duty of presenting it to the Sultana was entrusted to Paul Pindar, Lello's secretary (*Early Voyages*, p. 63).

<sup>4</sup> Italian *gropo*, a 'bunch.'

<sup>5</sup> Apparently *gömlük*, a vest.

<sup>6</sup> Sa'd al-Din, for whom see a note on p. 61. His death is recorded by Von Hammer at p. 642 of vol. II.

<sup>7</sup> 'A load is 100,000 aspers' (Conisby's notes).



most stif[f]l[i]e withstood, and still in the sam persist, in maner as from His Lordship Your Worships may be advised. Of that I hav[e] in my handes of other mens or my owne, I gave them a precedent; as also perswaydeng Master Govenors<sup>1</sup> servant to do the like. Master William Alderich contented at the last John Garawaye, althought he stoad very much to have had the ambassitor contented to have geven 6s. the doller for his imposition mony. I tould His Lordship that, if he contented [consented ?] to chang the maner, I would have nothing to do in the matter; if agreing to alowe them 6s., that in such [case ?] he would geve them His Lordships bills upon Your Worships; for you knowe my order is contrary to that, and to pase commition I will nether now nor at any time hereafter, if possible I may chose. So, certi-fieng Your Worships that the Hector departed this port three dayes since. . . . I take my leave.

*J. S. at Pera to Nicholas Salter in London*

29 October 1599 (*f. 302 b*)

...Som stiketh not to bid me hang my committion; and how they have resisted the ambassitor I doubt not but long since the Company is informed. They had in manner perswaded the ambassitor to alter the course and to have concented to geve them 6s. per doller; which also P. Pinder liked, and I would have agreed, but tould the ambassitor that I would geve no such bills at that rate, being by comission otherwayes ordered; and that, in such order taking mony of them, he should geve His Lordships bills, and that I would no further meddell. What I had chardg of I paid, and I have followed the Worshipfull Companies mind, having alredy delivered neare 500 chequins of gould, imposition and consoledg (rather more then lesse then I have received); for the ambassitor hath great nead of mony. His expences have bin great; nether will he (as he saith) stand to the allowance of 3000 d[ucat]s gould pention yearly. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the reference is to Richard Staper.

*The Same to The Same*

3 November 1599 (f. 301 b)

...I pray solicit the Compayn[i]e that they mak[e] me som frank [i.e. liberal] offer for my paynes in the office of trespasse[r]ship. I deserv[e] a stipend of 200 d[ucat]s per anno; but if they allowe me lesse, I shalbe contented towards my chardge. The ambassitor is extream chargabell; but no doubt hereafter (thought matters can go no worsse) he wilbe at lesse expenc[e]....

*The Same to The Levant Company*

3 November 1599 (f. 301 b)

Littell since my former I have to advise Your Worships of; only that this day was caried into the divan the custom mony we owe; which the Gran Signor long since had graunted our ambasitor, to take for so many mounthes due allowance. It is in deposito in the defferdares hands. I doubt we shall scarcely gett it out agayne. The Vizier affects not our ambasitor; and frend at this Port we have not any. The Bustangie Bassie failes of his promises and faints in his actions concerning our causes. The Capi Aga doth not help, nether much hinder, our matters. That the Mufti is dead we have to rejoyce, for he would have troubled us aboute that debt of the deceased ambasitor. He was of power and would have performed his pleasure, to Your Worships great losse. The French ambasitor contineweth his ould course of ynveyghing and urdging against us. His tunge, purse, and policies prevails as yett, but we have patience. Our ambasitor doth his best and uttermost indeavoure. God will assist us at His good pleasure. Concerning the Flemings, we hope we have stroung com[mandmen]t; but for all good respects better weare it Your Worships licenced them freele to trad hether, seeing you cannot lett [i.e. hinder] it, and thier [they ?] to agree to com under our protexions as Hir Magesties subjects. The consoledg would help well, if not altogether bear out the charg of the ambassitor and consuls. If you do not thus, the French will never [have ?] left molesting them, and us for them, except they eat ther profit of ther coming. Your Worships se[e] the infenite chardg you ar at. The Lord

Ambassitor can do no less. It well amount to above 3000 chequines a year. So that another and new order must be taken how His Lordship shalbe provided for. I expect Your Worships letters to such effect.

*Nicholas Salter in London to J. S. at Pera*

10 November 1599 (f. 291 a)

...I assure you our Allepo traid is such as is not worth the venter, except it amend this year, whearof ther is no great like[li]hood, for the fault is in the factors; for som man makes more then another by 30 per cent., which is a foule shame to the rest....

*J. S. at Pera to The Levant Company*

17 November 1599 (f. 301 a)

...The mony with much difficultie is by the ambassator received out of the divan.... This day by the hands of the Bustangi Bassaie a letter and present from the Great Sultana is delivered to the ambassator for Hir Exelent Magisty. Tomorrow Signor Paule Pinder imbarketh himsealf with the same towards England. With him also goeth along the workmen of the instrument sent. The ambassador of France proceadeth still most badlie against us.... Upon this Galata house<sup>1</sup>, except you will that it faule downe, you may please to bestowe som fewe aspers in repairing....

*The Same to William Aldrich at Scio?*

18 November 1599 (f. 300 a)

...Yesterday we wear all at the ambassators at diner, wher we wear not very merry, yet had very great cheare. The present is

<sup>1</sup> The house at Galata rented on behalf of the Company as a residence for the English merchants. The latter appear to have been expected to pay the cost of their board and lodging (see pp. 200, 206). Possibly the house was the original embassy. Moryson (pt. 1, p. 261) says: 'formerly the ambassadours of England were wont to dwell upon the sea shore in the plaine... but Master Edward Barton, the English ambassadour at this time [1596], dwelt upon the top of the hill, in a faire house within a large field and pleasant gardens compassed with a wall.'

com from the Sultana, by the hands of the Bustangi Bassi. It is a gowne [of] cloth of silver, a paier of shewes [i.e. shoes], a gerdle like the last she sent, two ritch wraught handkerchers and four other, a steffan [see p. 85 *n*] of rubies and pearles, with a letter; none of the finest. Another letter, also written by the sam partie (som woman in the seraglio), is also delivered the secreatary by the hands of the Chara, with one from himself and a ritch stefan of diamonts and rubies, wich also ar to be delivered to Hir Exelent Magistie. With the first wind Master Pinder departeth; with him Master Conisbie<sup>1</sup> and the workmen of the instrument sent. God prosper them into Ingland. Since your departure ther hath bine gotton out a very stroung and extraordinary com-[mandmen]t that the Flemings must com under our banner; but to have the nations put into our capitulation wil by no meanes be granted. The mony of the custom delivered us in the duan, according to the Gran Signors comand. Ed. Barly hetherto hath paid no mony of imprest, but shortly hope he will. John Garraway. . . gave me most villanous bad speeches. . . . He sticketh not to say his father was my maker; but for ether father or sones I never mind to have to doe. For that past, if I did for his father, he was behoulding to me for my sirvis. . . . I thanke his father for nothing. To our ould patronne [i.e. Thomas Cordell] I count mysealf behoulding, and him will I love and serve tell death. . . .

*The Same to Jeffery Kerby at Scio?*

21 November 1599 (*f.* 67 *a*)

...Leasure hath permitted me to. . . send you what you writt for. . . . [In] all is bestowed 13½ dollers. I hope the overpluse will pay for what I intreated you. . . to send frome me of a token to my brother the pastor of St. Jury [*sic*], namely one barrell of oyle and 2 or 300 [weight] of currantts, to spend in his house. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Several references to Humphrey Conisby (or Coningsby) will be found in Dallam's narrative of the return journey. The party included (besides Pindar, Dallam, and Conisby) William Hickockes (MS., *f.* 299 *a*). In Brit. Mus. MS. *Nero B xi* (ff. 1-16) is an interesting account of the state of Turkey, unsigned and undated; but from the initials H. C. at the commencement and from internal evidence, I conclude that its author was Conisby, and that it was written upon his return in 1600.

[PS.] Master Pinder very kindly paide that 30 dollers at first word for Signor William Hickokes. He is a sensible, wise, jentellmanlike man, and one that hear hath much creadited our nation. I protest to you I am sory of his departure, for hear he will be mist. . . .

*Thomas Freake at Aleppo to J. S. at Pera*

30 November 1599 (f. 292 b)

...The rebells yett keep the towne of Urfa, in dispight of the Vizer; who hath about 100,000 men in feild and the rebell hath only 7,000 soldiers within the towne, of valient men, who dayly breaketh fourth upone the Vizears forces and hath killed many of the janessaryes of Damasko; so as nowe we ar in hope to live more at quyett hear then before, and espetially if our ould bashawe retourne for this place, as it is expected. . . .

*J. S. at Pera to Thomas Freake at Aleppo*

30 November 1599 (f. 299 a)

...You writt of the Fleminges com from the Indies, and that Master Banninges<sup>1</sup> servantes say they are ballasted with indico. I take you to[o] wise to beleve any such matter. Master Baninges factores use to jest with ther frindes. . . .

*The Same to Nicholas Leate in London*

30 November 1599 (f. 294 b)

...You spake of a littell ship at my departure. If she be not com forth, I pray, good Master Leat, forward it with my good frend Master Salter; and Master Simons, I know, will be an adventurer. . . . Your profitte may be more then you expect, remitting the matter wholie unto me. . . . I know Master R. Sandy<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This might be either Andrew or Paul Bayning, but was probably the former. Both are named in the 1592 charter, and in that of 1600 Andrew was nominated an Assistant. A handsome monument to the two brothers (of whom Andrew died in 1610, and Paul six years later) still stands in the church of St Olave, Hart Street.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Sandy was nominated in the Levant Company's charter of 1605 as a member of the governing body.

wilbe an adventurer, and I have writt to Master Salter to put in som rounde som for me<sup>1</sup>. It greeves me to remayn hear idle, when I know the way to travile to proffitt my frends and mysealf. . . . For the office of treasure[r]ship hear this impotent and impudent Garraway blaseth that I mad great sute for, rather then to have no office, and tould the ambassator this day that I sought his place. But I tould him, in presence of the ambassator, that woe had bin to him if it had ben so, for I would have geven him his due desert, and not have taken abuses, as His Lordship hath, at his and other fooles handes; adding that I would remaine treasurer and [i.e. an] it wear but to dispight such antique minded fellowes as himsealf. And so I desire, and not for gaines, for gayne non can com of it. If Their Worships would be content to defraye my chardg of diet, I shall thinke mysealf very well satisfied; but if by good happ they offer me more liberally, it will like me better. . . . [PS. 14 December (f. 293 b)] . . . Two Venis ships bound hetherward wear surprised by the gallies of Argier and all the men cutt in peces. The Navi Silvester hath bin in port thes three weekes. She brought cloth, sope, and above 500 quintells of brassill; so that comoditie is faulen, at present not wourth redy mony 21 d[ollar]s. . . . Sigallo the admirall arived. Ebrim Bassa not yett rettorned. . . .

*Richard Colthurst at Aleppo to J. S. at Constantinople*

1 December 1599 (f. 293 a)

. . . I am sorry for Master Maye his retourne; who, if [he] remayne hear, will sett us all together by the ears. . . . As yett not any of the Hectors passingers ar come to Alepo, but we daly expect the master, with som others. The ship arived at Scanderonn the 19th of the last. Upon hir ther goeth from hence for Ingland Humfery Robinson, John Frier, Bartholmew Holland, John Wragge, Robert Flettwood, and John Brochowse. . . . The rebell

<sup>1</sup> In a concurrent letter to Salter (f. 294 a) he specifies 200*l.* as the sum to be contributed as his own share. He also says that he intends to remain at Constantinople for two years or more, by which time he hopes that his apprentice Hanger will be fit to take his place.

bashaw and screvano ar fortified in Urfa<sup>1</sup>, a cittie with a castell upon Ewfrates, and ar 8000 strounge men, very resolute. The Vizear hath ben before the place this 7 or 8 weeks with 50,000 men, to his great losse. This day, [it] is thought, our bashawe goeth towards them with an newe supply of men and munycion. I doubt this place will groue verry troublesom. I daly expect comandments for the confermation of the Flemings; ells the power [i.e. poor] men ar utterly undone, and we mightely disgraced. I pray God send His Lordship good succes thearin, that we may dominer over the French as they doe over us....

*J. S. at Pera to The Levant Company*

1 December 1599 (*f.* 297 *b*)

Since the abovewritten Ed. Barly, by constraynte and new com-  
mission from the ambassator, begines to bringe in his imprest  
mony.... I should have above 600 [dollars], but His Lordship  
[being] content with the accompt he geveth, for quietnes sake  
I must perforce remitt the rest. My Lord saith he wilbe furnished  
and thoughe it be at 6s. per doller, and so had rather with quietnes  
then otherwayes. I answered he should waunt no mony, but  
that at such rate for the neadfull I was and would be redy to  
fornish him at all times.... I was also acatione that the Charas  
sonns (costomers) contented themsealves to passe His Lordships  
bills for aboute 800 ducketts gould, according to the Gran  
Signors command, which otherwayes had not ben don.... His  
Lordship hath...thought good to geve Thomas Glover 100  
duckettes of gould for the Bugdan and Vallachia bills in his

<sup>1</sup> The 'rebell bashaw' was Husein Pasha, for whom see a note on p. 88. His associate was Kara Yazidji ('the black writer,' whence the 'screvano' of our text), whose proper name was 'Abd al-Halīm, the leader of a serious rebellion in Asia from 1599 to 1602. As already related, the pair were besieged in Urfa until Kara Yazidji, at the price of betraying Husein, made his peace and was appointed Governor of Amasia. He continued, however, to give trouble until he was defeated in the spring of 1602, when he took refuge in the mountains of Jānik, and died there a few months later. His brother, Deli Hasan, and other chiefs continued the struggle, until crushed by Murād Pasha in 1605. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.n.; Von Hammer, vol. II, pp. 640, 641, 651, 652, 662, 705-12; *Report on Salisbury MSS.*, vol. XII, pp. 155, 98, 326; vol. XIV, pp. 215, 224, 227.

handes; asking counsell at our first arivall of the merchantes your factores hear, who have agreed therto, both in consideration of the said Glovers former service and that indeed the ambassator cannott misse him, for he is both pratique of this contry and languadges, many times serving for doruman to His Lordship (havige nead of secreat conferrance with the greatest men), now beinge secretary, for which office he is fitt; though that matter of secretary would be the better creteded [credited] if som younge jentellman that had the Lattin tounge perfect wear sent out of England for the purposse. The ambassator hath appointed me to paye him the said 100 duckettes gould, the first mony commeth to my handes, which I purpose accordingly to do. Two dayes since P. Pinder departed hence in a carmisall for Morea, and so for Zante, Venis, and England, with the Gran Signors and Great Sultanaies letters; also a present from the said Sultana (the Gran Signors mother) to Hir Excelent Magistie....No letters come these five monathes out of England....[PS.] The Lord Ambassator this day tould me that he could shewe accompt that, notwithstanding all the mony he hath hetherto received, yet Your Worships remaine debtor to him 1000 d[uca]tts; at which I much mervile, and se no way to satisfie it with furnishing him continewally with what he shall nead. Wherefore againe I besech Your Worships to order lardgly for the sam, and in such effectuall manner that thes your factors mak no contradiction. I pray Your Worships apoynt som other for this office of treasur[er]ship, or me som sufficient stipent towards my chardges; for both to remaine at great expence and bandy the ill will of som your foolish factors, it somewhat presseth me. But yett, for the affection I beare unto Your Worships in jenerall, I rather imbrace it upon commission reasonable....

*Elizeus Sotheren at Aleppo to J. S. at Pera*

1 December 1599 (f. 292 a)

...Ther will goe good store of all comodities upon hir [i.e. the *Hector*], but especially indico and silke; all men havinge advise cheefly of those commodities, being fearfull of spices, by reason of the newes of the Flemings discovery in the East Indeyes; as



also, those four ships arrived in Amsterdam having brought great store of pepper and cloves, none carres to meaddell with those comodities....

*Nicholas Leate in London to J. S. at Pera*

22 December 1599 (f. 285 a)

...We understand of a great broile that hath ben by our people in ressing the ambassador at Constantinople. The Company hath geven order they shall be all shipped hom[e]. I am glad you are not interest[ed] therin. Mayntayne your ambassador with as much credit as you can. It is your owne creditts and your conteryes....

*William Aldrich in Scio to The Same*

28 December 1599 (f. 291 b)

...The Flemings ar retorned richly laden from the East Endyes, and six great ships wear to depart out of London for those plasses in September past. This tradinge to that Endyes have clean overthroughen our deallings to Aleppo, as by experience ere longe we shall see; and by means therof our Company shall not be able to undergoe the chardges they are at; whearupon I am in som doubt they shalbe forced to seecke som other releafe for thes great expences or elce geve over ther patent, for be you assured that if spyces be not brought from Alepo, as in tyme past, into England, but the place be otherwise served, our Company shall not be able to defraud [defray ?] halff of ther chardges by all the tradinges which is into the other parts of all thes seays....

*Answer by J. S. to Queries by James Altham  
on his Account*

[12 January 1600 ?] (f. 68 a)

...I also paid custom for cloth and other commodities 5 per cento, untill I made agreement with the Customers for all goods that should come after that time, consigned to Englishmen, to pay but 4 per cento. For such as our English shippinge brought

they never mad[e] question it ought [i.e. owed] but 3, and paid no more. But those Customers did ever overrate all comodities, and remedie at that time we could have none. To me they rated course cloth at 7,000 aspers per pece, which after I sould hear, some of them at 3 or 4,000 aspers per cloth; a matter seming uncreadable, yett is most true. For after that I had lett the cloth lie 10 dayes in the customhouse, yf in 10 monthes I had not feched them, all had ben one to those Jewes....

*J. S. to Richard Colthurst, Consul at Aleppo*

6 February 1600 (*f. 71 a*)

...We have seene the trator Ussine Bassa<sup>1</sup> upon the gaunch, first in the duan [see p. 53] having one of his armes and a legge broke, and caried bound to a crosse of wood with two candles burning in the flech of his shoulders, having also a muskle or two of flech taken out of his backe, with a chope behinde one the nape of his neck. Dead he was before he was put one the gaunch. Other newes hear is not of Turkie matters, other then that they hear say it wilbe peace, and written to the Lord Ambassiator that we shall have peace with Spaine, two messengers having from thence ben in Ingland; matters granted extreordinary; meting in March at Bullone, as is thought, to make conclusion. God grant it good. The Flemings will not by any means be perswaded; English ar willing. Of Ierland no great newes. Scottland very quiett. My Lord Essex in custodie of My Lord Keeper [i.e. Sir Thomas Egerton] and very sicke, [be]cause, some say, of Hir Magesties dislike of his doings in Ierland....

*Nicholas Salter in London to J. S. at Pera*

23 February 1600 (*f. 283 a*)

...The Peregrine and Laneratt ar hear as this day...arrived in saftie...Paule Pinder not yett arrived, but now daly expected. ...I make accompt he shall not com back to you againe, at least at the Company ther chardge; he hath sent such franck [i.e. lavish] accompts of former matters. His apparell comes to 900 and odd d[ollar]s at the very first clap....

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 88.

*Henry Lello to J. S.*27 February 1600 (*f. 74 b*)

John Garrawaye have bene with me for his mony which I have longe owed him; which I have promised to pay him within four or five dayes. . . . I would you could find som to deliver me, yf not 1000 chequins, five hundereth for [bills on] Aleppo, that I might paye all men and not be beholden to them as I am. Within six dayes I most have mony likewise to take out the capitulations. I have prolonged the time as longe as I can. Yf you finde it not for Alepo, take it for Veynis; for it is a shame ther is not som better order taken for it.

*J. S. to Henry Lello*28 February 1600 (*f. 74 b*)

Right Honourable, I have labored to provide you mony by the menstry of this bearer, but for Venis, under five per cento, I cannott be creadited without paune. So semeth I am not so well esteemed as at first I was, by the preverst [perverse ?] dealings of som others [that] ar the wourst though[t]e of. So much for that. Haggie Nasladine [Haji Nasreddin] with interest will deliver Your Lordship as formerly he hath done to the Ambassiator of France. I see no waye Your Lordship hath but to take of him as you maye, for other Mores will deliver at no ratte withoutt paune. Yf you will not take 1000, yet, to serve the present necessitie, take 500. Lett the Companie bear the losse. But suerlie your good frend Master Abbott and other frends ther [i.e. at Aleppo], who by exchange hath taken politiquelie all our mony from hence, ar mightily to be blamed; for of me and others Your Lordship might [have] served your torne, had not they prevented it. Since Your Lordship first spake to me that the capitulations wear finished and that you lacked 200 dollers to fetch them away, I have delivered and sent you about 200 chequins, which it semeth Your Lordship hath since other wayes disbursed; and if not, out therof is enought to pay John Garraway; but allwaies I would Your Lordship should remember the 70 chequins alredy

paid him. It was hear tould me Your Lordship had taken of Hasson Aga [Hasan Agha] for Alepo 1000. I was glad to hear it, and thought to have borrowed of you 3 or 400 for my present need. Well, My Lord, ther is no way but to take but of Nasladine, for at this time I can nether sell tinne, cloth, nor any other commoditie remayning in my hands, whearby to assist as I desired. A mounth or two hence I hope to be better stored of mony. In the meane time I would Hassan Aga would lay out 500 chequins upon tinne, at 17 chequins per q[ui]n[tell]. No doubt it will sell better at ther Biram<sup>1</sup>...

*The Levant Company*<sup>2</sup> to J. S.

1 March 1600 (f. 54 b)

...Wee have receaved your letters of the 17 November, with your former therin related. And touchinge your opininion of our tolleracion of the Dutch for their peacable traffique in Turkie, wee concurre with you and hold it fitt to entertaine them kindlie, to thend we might receive benifite by their consoladge. But as you have had som experience of the French amb[assado]r his opposicion against their comminge under our consoladge, so hath it appeared here by complainte maid to Her Majestie by the French amb[assado]r liedger how they toke to harte the obteyninge of the Dutch nacion under their amb[assado]r in Turkie. Wherefore untill Signor Pawle Pinder<sup>3</sup> hath ben here and that Her Majestie hath ben made acquainted with all proceedings, we knowe not what course to advise therin. Your care of the supplyinge the provision and wants of Master Lillo, Her Majesties amb[assado]r, wee cannot but take in very thankefull part and thinke the Company beholdinge to you therin. And for firme and sufficient order to be geven you for his furnishinge, accordinge as is fitt, we are also carefull; yett doe we not see what other

<sup>1</sup> The Bairam festival, which followed the fast of Ramazān.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Smythe (Governor), Richard Staper, William Garway, Thomas Cordell, John Eldred (Treasurer), Leonard Poure, Nicholas Salter, Arthur Jackson. The letter has been printed in *The Dawn of British Trade*, p. 273, from a copy at the India Office.

<sup>3</sup> He had been sent home by Lello to acquaint the Queen 'with the proceeding of the Frenche' (*op. cit.*, p. 265), as well as to carry to England the presents for Her Majesty.

better course we can take therin then by generall consent and order of court to agree to chardge our goods comminge into Turkie, ether to Constantinople, Allexandretta, or elswer, to beare such a levie as we by our consent have imposed upon them. And howsoever som wilfull and unbridled younge heads have for som other respectes shewed there stomacks, yet the order in itselfe is both firme and very sufficient to aforth such payments as therby we intended; and no doubt, upon better consideracion of the matter, wilbe so accepted and obeyed by those who have most hotlie apposed themsealves against it. Wee, resolvinge upon all good and redie means to supplie His Lordship, accordinge to agrement, doe find none so apte as the contynuaunce of the lone of  $\frac{1}{2}$  doller uppon every kersie, every hundred [of] tinne, and every hundred coniskins, etc. that come into Turkie, together with the consoladge of the sam goods; and therfore have ordered that the sam lone shalbe continewed, and repaid here againe by exchange at 5s. 6d. the doller, untill the Company shall upon further consideration otherwise advise. And to that end we have written to His Lordship<sup>1</sup> to make his bills uppon the consull at Allepo for the payment of so much as, with the receipts at Constantinople, shall make up 3000 chequins per annum, as his occasions shall nedfullie import him, not doubtinge but the same, together with the Graund Signiour his allowance (the contynuaunce wherof we nothinge doubt) will very liberallie defraye his expences<sup>2</sup>; to the continuance of which course of chardginge our goods we were the rather induced to avoide both your and the amb[assado]rs trouble [in] sekinge creditt to supplie his occasions.

<sup>1</sup> The letter will be found at p. 265 of the volume already cited; also (p. 270) one acquainting Richard Colthurst, the consul at Aleppo, with the arrangement made.

<sup>2</sup> Lello himself was by no means satisfied with his remuneration. On 5 Dec. 1601 he wrote to the Company that his salary was quite insufficient. 'In the tyme of my predecessours they did not pay for victualls and other charges the half of that I doe. Besides, they had a thowsand crownes yerely from the Gran Signor, which I have not. My last predecessour had 1100*li.* of Her Majestie, and somewhat from yourselfs at delivery of the present; besides died in your debte (by report) 4000*li.*' (Brit. Mus. *Nero B xi*, f. 105 b; see also f. 113 a). He returned to the subject in 1606 and 1607 (*ibid.*, ff. 146 b, 147 a, 150 a, 151 a), but apparently without result. Glover, however, in a letter to Cecil of 1 April, 1607, declared that he had succeeded in obtaining from the Sultan 3000 crowns for Lello as arrears of allowance (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. v, f. 122).

As touchinge the disposinge of the Galata house, wherin you depend uppon our order, we thinke it fitt to be sould and made awaye to the best commoditie and advantage; and we wish the same to be done, if it might be, without bestowinge any further chardge thereuppon. But if you thinke the ruines beinge not in some sort repared would hinder us more in the saile then a matter of some smaule charge thereuppon bestowed would amount unto, we referre us to your good consideracion to take such course therin as you shall thinke may best advantage the sale; still holdinge it for a full resolucion that the same shalbe sould away. And wher[as] you writt that the amb[assado]r is a creditor to the Company 1000 chekins, when the accompts are come to our hands and we see how the same doth rise, we shall (God willinge) geave His Lordshipe satisfaction or some order to his likinge howe it shalbe aunswered. Wee have considered of your mocion for allowance for your paynes in the collectinge of the consoladge and lone mony, and have agreed to allowe you 5 upon the 100<sup>x</sup> of all mony by you collected accordinge to our orders, prayinge you to accept therof in good part. And [for] the better warrant for the colleccion of the lone mony wee send you herewith the coppies of our severall acts conteyned<sup>2</sup> for the lev[y]inge therof, firmed [i.e. signed] under the hand of our secretarie.

This beinge kept untill the 10th of March, 1599 [1600], wee, uppon further consideracione of the disposinge of the Galata house, doe chaunge our former opinion touchinge the sale of the same, and pray you carefullie to consider of the necessarie waunts of reparacions therof, and to supplie the same as frugallie and carefullie as you can, and then to lett out the same for the most advantage and benefitte that it may reasonablie make by yearly rent to such of the Companie as shall need it, both for the discharge of the rent which we pay and the benefitt of the Companie by the overplus of the rent that it maye yelde; reteyninge the same still in the Companies hands, for that many of us are of opynion that ther maye be use of the same house both for the

<sup>1</sup> The India Office copy has '1000,' and since it is explained in the margin as '5 per m<sup>l</sup>,' that figure is no doubt the right one.

<sup>2</sup> 'Continued' in the India Office copy. This is obviously the more correct.

Company in generall and for ther factors in particuler ; in respect wherof the sale of the same is alltogether to be forborne....

[*Enclosure*]

*A generall court holden the xxviii of August, 1598.*

Divers letters wear read at this court, as well from the amb[assado]r touchinge the state of the Company at Constantinople as from the consull at Allepo importinge the state of the trad ther and the great debt which lyeth uppon the Company at interest and otherwise. Uppon which advice concerninge the Companies debt they fallinge into deliberacion and of means of remedy, doe agree that every trader into the parts of Turkie shall pay, by way of loane, uppon every kersie and every hundered of tinne and every hundered of coniskins, and so ratably uppon other goods, half a doller, within a mounth after the arrivall of the ship, to be levied by the consull at Alepo; and the same beinge levied, bills of exchange to be geven by the consull uppon the Company here, to be answered at vs. vjd. the doller within three mounthes after the sight of the bill; and for every mans loane a particuler bill of exchange to be geven.

*A generall court holden the ij of February, 1598 [1599].*

Wheras upon the xxvijth day of Agust last, at a generall court then holden, it was ordered that ther shalbe levied, to bringe the Company out of debt, half a doller upon the Companies goods then sent into Turkie in the Royal Exchaunge and in the said act particulerlie rated: it is now ordered that the like levie shalbe made upone the goods that goeth in the Hector and the Lanarett, to be paid in manner and forme as is mencioned [in] the said act.

*A generall court holden the xj of December, 1599.*

It is ordered that the George and the Exchange and all such ships as shall hereafter be frayehted by the Company to Allepo or Constantinople shall answere by waye of lone half a doller uppon a kersie and so ratably upon other goods, to be repaid in England at vs. vjd. the doller, untill further order be taken, accordinge to the two former orders of court, viz. the 28 August, 2 February, 1598.

*Concordat cum registro, Exe. per me Ry. Wright, Secretary.*

*J. S. at Pera to Nicholas Leate in London*

[? March 1600] (f. 172 b)

...We heare agree like bells. When I was in England, it was marked by you and others that I should be against your choyse of the ambasiator; but nowe it fauls out that I am markett [i.e. marked] chefelie for his sake, in standinge with him, and envied of all heare for mainteyning and houlding with the right, for I doe and s[a]y at all tims as my contience in justice doth tell me and presented occation offereth. But my mates heare have scarred me over the face with a stone (in a fooles fist); a sett match after supper, beinge held by maine force<sup>1</sup>, my tratorouse apprentice standing close by me untill the exployt was performed. I assuer you heare ar a jolly sett of divers devells, fooles, madd-men, antiques [i.e. grotesque persons], monsters, beasts, whore-mongers. And a whore should have bine at it [i.e. the supper] in mans aparrell, but was sent out of the rome because a cuckould of this damned crue could not brooke hir company; so Harmman conveyed hir up to Sampsons [i.e. Newport's] chamber.... I am in John Fields hands, who promiseth to performe a faire pece of wourke. I pray God he doe.

*J. S. at Pera to Nicholas Salter in London*

12 March 1600 (f. 74 b)

...I perceave Master Brikhead [Birkhead] is ill conceived of his son. Indeed it apeareth he hath ben somewhat wild in times past, but now he wilbe tamer. Nether is he so bad or madd as som would make him. He hath ben hear a litle hardlie use[d], as his feet tasted for being accused to caule John Midnall cuckold; and yet it was not proved to the ambassiator. Indead Midnale and Lumberd had most knavishly abused him.... John Feild hath performed a fine pece of wourke upon my nose, having healed

<sup>1</sup> In a marginal note Sanderson names his assailants: 'That picture of envie, Barlie, with intelligence of Hanger invented; that antique, Garraway; crokbackt Strasi; Samson [Newport], Harmman concented. That devill Tient, behinde me, by maine force held me, whilst that doulst Bourne with a stone stroke me; which done, all fled, except the satier Hanger, whome I thrust out after.'



the wound in manner without blemish. You se what I have purchased by my office of treasuership and taking part with the ambassiator. Yf peradventer the Company inact me no allowance for my paynes, then writt me your counsell what I shall sett downe for my travale past, and so [I] will render my office, for som foolish ones will not stick to say I am inriched by it, when indeed I receave nothinge but trouble and envie of all hear; and on the other sid it semes the Company have smaule regard of the ambassiator, for thoughe to him they writt, yett talke not howe he shalbe provided to expend; so that we find oursealfes altogether destitute of mony.... You se howe vilanously of late I have ben abused, my name tossed and tombled ther [i.e. in London], I know not how, in your absence. But that devell Dorrington shall never deceave me more; and for other men I take them as I find them. I defie the proudest enemy I have, and will ever remayne a frend to my frends.... Advise me, good Master Salter, ordinarylie what shipping you send for Alepo; for it may be I will make thether som mony for my owne accompt, to be employed in silke. Yf my brother will adventer for himsealf *rooli.*, I pray lett him, for so he hath desired me; but counsell him, if he do, to lett it be assured, for I thinke he hath not many hundereths more....

*J. S. at Pera to Richard Colthurst at Aleppo?*

12 March 1600 (*f. 77 a*)

... God be thanked for the arrivall of the Littell Georg. I am ther an adventurer. I pray God she make better reconinge then the Angell did, or else Ile be no more a Turkie merchant. That troublesom May is departed is well; but I fear, if the ship tutch at Sant [Zante], from thence he will com hether againe to troble Israell. For suer I thinke he dare scarce goe for England. In Constantinople he was permitted to dispute in the chefest sinagog; was derided and confuted (as they say) by a Jewe that had ben a Christian; and that his disputation (as som Jewes say) rather confermed the[n] revoked them from ther Jueismie. So stoborne and stifnecked be thes Jewes.... Yesterday departed a messe towards you, who I make no doubt but is arrived with the

commandment. The Vizier said he gave no such commandment to the French as you writt of; and further added that of late the French ambassiator had made an ardg [*ars*: petition] to the Gran Signor for the Flemings, and he answered him that it was granted to the men of Ingland. Ther ar two Flemish ships bond for Scanderon with great store of reddy mony, therfor His Lordship thought good to send that commandment in such hast; which out of doubt must be available, for in our capitulations is an artitel apart which onlie concerne the Flemings; copy wherof I make accompt shalbe shortlie sent you. God send you them ships. Thers good store of consoledge....

*The Same to His Brother in London*

28 March 1600 (*f. 77 a*)

...I have ordered Master N. Salter... to geve you 21. 7. 6, which is made of the littell clocke Master Ottmore delivered me at my departure.... Take you a receipt of Master Ottmors hand.... Lett him, I say, make a receipt for 20*li*. (I say twenty pounds), and deliver you him no more, for the 1. 7. 6 I will have for factoridg; which (without you list) you nead not speake of; and with the sam buy me a paier of black silke stockins and send me by the first. Deliver the sam to Master Salter. And if over and above you send me a hatt, leined with velvett, somewhat lower croned then thes I wear, I will (if I have not) deserve it at your hands.... I thinke to see you after a year or two....

*The Same to Nicholas Salter in London*

29 March 1600 (*f. 77 b*)

...John Midnall and Tient hath altered ther purpose and ar bound together for Alepo.... God forgeve Master Eldered. He [*is*] my ould mortall illwiller; but the imortalle God will revendg my cause; so I hope and so I pray.... I have kept all this Easter and six dayes before at the ambassitors, who very earnestly requiers my continuall company. I have so done, the rather to frett my envyouse mattes, but will presentlie retorne, when our house is dischargd of the jeweller [*i.e.* Tient] and other Jacks. ...Conserninge my thanklesse office bestowe one hower to

thinke therof, and lett me knowe your mind effectually, and so farewell. If you se the Company be ungratfull, writt the ambassator to permitt me to make mysealf allowance resonable, and nominat your opinion....

*J. S. at Pera to The Levant Company*

30 March 1600 (*f. 78 a*)

Since my cominge hether I have not received any, though divers times have written. Now occasioned againe to certifie that I have delivered the Honourable Lord Ambassiator 3000 chequins of gould—1000 taken up for Venys, 1000 delivered of impositione and consoldedge received hear (besides 100 to Thomas Glover, His Lordships secretary, by a generall agrement and concent, whearof I have formerly advised), and 1000 he hath taken of me by exchange.... All the imprest mony I have gathered, for which bills by me are geven (accordinge to Your Worships order) is dollers 1474½ (maketh chequins 983). Consoldedge, no more gathered then formerly I have writt of, which are about som 230 ducketts. For as yett littell hath bine sould, and they that are to pay are loth to part from it; som answearinge that they will deliver it three mounthes after they have made saile, and others unwilling at all. Of Master Midnall I demanded, who hath intreated the Lord Ambassiator that Your Worships may sentence whether he shall pay or not, having taken out his goods before the Hector went for Scanderonne and imbarked them for Sio, whear he paid one per cento. The other one is due hear, in my opinione; but (as I said) His Lordship hath remitted it unto your court. Out of the smaule rest in my hands I pay houserent (for others hear will pay no part), and somewhat disbursed in reparinge, with brokeridge for the 1000 ducketts taken up for Venis. So Your Worships may see that by the use of this rich treasury I can littell enrich mysealf; which some befor my departure mad great doubt of; whearin they wear deceived, for hetherto I have allwaies lent of my owne to supplie, and will not lett so to do hereafter upon any necessitie, yf I might be but thankfull thought of for my paynes. I desier to knowe Your Worships pleasure whether hereafter (if nead so constrayne) I

shall suplie His Lordship with my owne or frends [money] I have or maye have to dispose of, at 10s. the chequine, for under it is to be doubted none will deliver. . . .

*The Same to Nicholas Leate in London*

30 March 1600 (*f.* 78 a)

...Hear is hapned the Jewes *mala pasque* [see p. 86], for one Ester Eve, beinge their Saboth day, in the Vizers yard was killed by the spahies the Chara<sup>1</sup>, and hir sonn (Chefe Customer) was no lesse handled the next day. His brother turned Turke, but [it] is doubted shall hardlie escape his life. Of<sup>2</sup> six other principall Jewes of Constantinople, as Isaraell Chelibi, Doctor Benvinista, Doctor Sacunta, etc.; also will that the Gran Signor banish his mother and geve them the heads of the Bustangi Bassi, Capi Aga, and Difterdare. He cauled ten of the principall spahies before him, after the Chara and hir son was delivered into ther hands; who further demanded as I have said be[fore]. He, caulinge them his childeren, exhorted that they would quiet themselves, and he would counsell his mother and corect his said servants; and for ther great love towards him gave them thanks, promising that all should be amended, both the mony com to the former ratte and the Jewes prid supprised; with also that frome other his oficers then the Vizer Asem<sup>3</sup> he would never axcept of arz. And so caused the Muftie, Cadilisqier, and four other to sett all matters in order; which yett resteth at a stay, the Jewes not daring to com out of their houses, for som that do ar cruelly beaten and have their garments taken from them. The Chara and hir proud son, which hear was called Cutchuke Padishaw [*küchük padishah*] (Littell Kinge), lie eaten of doggs in the principall publique place of the cittie, cauled Ott Madan, littell pittied of any, their doings wear so intolerable. It is reported that she was wourth a millian and more. In one of the basistans is found redy Gould 500,000 ducketts, besides jewells inestimable.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 85. The name is given as Chira in *Cal. S.P., Ven.* (vol. ix, nos. 930, 951), and as Kira by Von Hammer (vol. II, p. 639).

<sup>2</sup> Something seems to have been omitted here. Probably we should read: 'The spahies demand the lives of,' etc.

<sup>3</sup> Grand Vizier (*Vezir-i-a'sam*).

It is proclaimed about the citty that nether Jewe nor Greeke shall wear garment or chackchiers [breeches: *chaqshir*] of fine cloth; but this, I thinke, will not longe be observed....200 aspers, which is a duckett of gould, but presentlie it is thought that the chequine will com to 120 aspers and the doller 70; yet I doubt the allteration will not be so sodayne—I wish it wear....Yesterday departed Wm. Amians and Wm. Brickhead for Sio in a carmisall, and from thence are determined for Ingland. God... send also Master Midnall well to Alepo, for thether now he pretendeth, in company with Jasper Tient. They depart I know not when, but (as they say) within fewe days<sup>1</sup>....

*Nicholas Leate in London to J. S. at Pera*

7 April 1600 (f. 281 a)<sup>2</sup>

...You put four per cent. for factoridge; I will alowe but 2½, which is as much as ever I gave in any place in my life. And for consoledg, you put the uttermost to accompt, and I knowe other men have ben favored. I did thinke that, if not bett[er], I should be [no ?] wourse used then other men, you having the matter in your owne hands.... The Perigrine is laden by Master[s] Cordall and Garway for the Archepelligo.... I see sails so bad and retornes so sloe from Constantinople that I have smaule stomake to deale for that place....

*J. S. at Pera to Alexander Harris at Aleppo*

8 May 1600 (f. 287 a)

...I will not have my factoridge pared. What others do in that case, I care not. I take, and allwaies have taken, five per cent. (or four at least) of all my frends or foes that committ any ther matters to me. And whear he talke of sailes, I certifie that I have taken four per cent. sailes and four more per cent. imployments (sometimes five). Hearafter I will, by Gods grace, take allwayes five per cent.... They that find cheaper factors, lett them use them....

<sup>1</sup> Mildenhall left Constantinople on 1 May (*Early Travels*, p. 53). Apparently Tient changed his mind, and did not accompany him.

<sup>2</sup> Sanderson was evidently much upset by the censures contained in this letter, for he notes against it: 'I would I had geven His Worship 100 d[ollar]s that I had not discredited mysealf with his paultry affaiers.'

*The Same to The Levant Company*

25 May 1600 (f. 286 a)

...Now am accasioned to put Your Worships in mynd that order hereafter may be taken that no English ships of warre<sup>1</sup> trouble the Strets, except you purpose to geve over your merchandizinge in thes parts of Turkey; for of latte great rumors and lamentations hath bin made at this Port by Turks and other that the English robbe, spoile, and kill Mussellmen. The sam hath ben published at Sultan Sullimans church in the pulpitt by a learned man in ther religion, who after was rebuked by the Vizer and others for the sam. Yett continuall complaynnts com to the publique duan; and, to make all wourse, chauses and others are lattlie arrived from Petrasse, [who] afferme the newes of two English ships in that port with a price [i.e. prize], and say that pepper is ther sold at 30 aspers the oke, and other comodities very cheape; as also talke much of the two consulls contention, one newlie of himsealf and others ther created, and Jonas Alderich by ould authoritie forcing to hould his place...Comodities hear never in wourse request, and no saile at any reasonable ratt[e]. The Jewes speritts yett scarcely revied since the death of the Chara and hir son, and souldiers somewhat unruly by reason the mony goeth at so hieght a ratte. Tis said that shortly the chequine shalbe at his ould ratte of 120 aspers, which now paseth at 200; the doller likewise to his wounted rate; but scarcelie I beleve it...

*The Same to — Suckling in London*

7 June 1600 (f. 284 b)

...The newes of thes parts are many and divers; if trewe, very crosse for this Great Turke. For the[y] saye the Percian quaralet<sup>2</sup>; Mychaell, the Prince of Transilvania, prevaileth<sup>2</sup>; Buddania [Jassy ?] beseiged; Ebrim Bassa att his witts end for mony and hasbeth [pay: *hisbah*] for the souldiers who last weake departed; Sigaloolie in good readynes with his master, but can yett drawe no mony to forward him out this year. Som saieth he goes not at

<sup>1</sup> I.e. privateers.<sup>2</sup> See *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. ix, no. 836.

all; others report that ther are in readines 25 gallies, and wilbe to the number of 30, to guard their cost only, not pretending any exploit. The rebell in Surrea remayneth, and prevaletth against Mahemett Bassa, the sonn of the deceased Sinan Bassa. Some doubteth the said Mahemett Bassa will prove fauls to his patron, the Great Turke. The death of the Chara and hir son not yett out of speech; notwithstanding, the Jewes againe beginne to lift up their heads, and are againe maid customers at this port. The Great Sultanaes church goeth up apace, and she rayneth as before. Afis Bassa, the geldinge, yett remaynes Vizier<sup>1</sup>. It hath ben offered againe to Halull, who utterly refuseth the place. The Capi Aga still remayneth in great favor, but much envied of this people. The Bustangie Bassa, according to his wonted maner, houldeth out against his malingner, and his master favors him as formerly....

*J. S. at Pera to Nicholas Salter in London*

7 June 1600 (f. 284 a)

...I see the smale appetit you and others which I accompted my frends have to send for this place... It is strange to me that from Master Stapers, Governour, I have nott one letter, considering how I have writt, and that somwhatt important; but now, I hope, the new Govonor, Master Smith, will vouchsafe me, except Master Eldred (Treasurer), my antient enemy, geve lett... Hear ar of the ambassators (deceased) certtayne apparrell, a horse, and other tryfells [ap]prased, which I make accompt the Company will geve, or order My Lord now in place to dispose of to the satisfaction of the said ambassators ould servants. Now my very earnest request now to you is that for my sake you will writt unto this My Lord Ambassador to disporre in lardg measuer of the aforesaid unto a poer kinsman of the latt ambassator, whome you knowe a very honest and antient man, by name Robert Bartone, whome with teares, My Lord tells me, he recom-

<sup>1</sup> In a letter of 12 April, 1600 (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. iv), Lello announced that Khalil Pasha had been dismissed, owing to the recent outbreak among the spahis, and that 'Afiss Bassa' had been appointed in his place. This was Hâfiz Ahmad, an account of whose career will be found in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

mended upon his deathbed and bequeathed him 400 peces of gould....

*The Same to The Same*

19 July 1600 (f. 280 a)

...From henc also goeth Master Nothingham, consull creatted of Petras, a modest, grave, and sencable man. I thinke Jonas Aldrich will not like of this; but so His Lordship hath thought fitt for the good of those [of] our Company who trade the Morea. Hence goeth also Master William Oworm, Davyd Bourne, J[asper] Tyen[t], Anthony Abdie<sup>1</sup>, John Gilpin, and Robin Course... My hartie comendations to Master Paule Pinder. Midnall and [William] Lumberd in som sort abused him hear presently after his departuer....

*The Same to The Levant Company*

19 July 1600 (f. 279 b)

...I refer to the Lord Ambassador to advise concerninge the Flemings. I wish all wear quiett betwen the French and us, but see that hear wilbe no peace so longe as this politician Mounsour de Brevis is in office. It semeth that the French consull at Cairo hath by his cuning dealinge overflattered our people ther, promisinge protexion clear of consoledg; which siren alurment would cost them caro [i.e. dear] in the end. For I have experience of the cogging cosonadge; and the Worshipfull Company in the tim of the Mary Rose was full rewarded with the frutte of ther flatteries, who are the chefe ministers to perswaid ours with such resolution to subject themselves to the French. The Lord Ambassador hath thought good to prevent this by sendinge thether Master Benjamen Bishop<sup>2</sup>... That Your Worships have con-

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Abdy was born in 1579. After his return to England he married (1610) Abigail, daughter of Sir Thomas Campbell, Lord Mayor of London, and had three sons, all of whom were in turn created baronets. Abdy became an alderman and sheriff (1630-31) and died in 1640. He was a prominent member of both the Levant and the East India Company, serving as deputy governor of the former body from 1627 to 1629 and refusing a similar post in the latter in 1635.

<sup>2</sup> At f. 281 b is entered a letter from Sanderson to Hewet Staper at Cairo (23 June 1600), announcing Bishop's appointment and urging that the merchants should receive and assist him. It mentions that the Company had, in



sidered in former maner to suplie the Lord Ambassator is well, but yett in my opinion will scarcely be sufficient; for consideringe your gaine so mean, [it] is to be doubted som are discouradged to adventer, and so likelie the [al]leviation wilbe to[o] little. Well, howsoever, His Lordship (as great reason is) must as he may be suplied, and doth most certaynly sparinglie spend as possibly can be devised. Concerning Your Worships order to take rent of Galata House, I have demanded, and they in generall answeare that for the time to com they are content to contribut, according to Your Worships pleasuer, but for that past they thinke it not reason to disburse. David Bourne, having ben hear two years, answered also in like maner, and hath not paid an asper. Shortlie I purpose to bestowe som smaule matter in reparation, for of force it must be all tiled over<sup>1</sup>. . . . Concerning the consideration Your Worships have allotted me in the collection, being so smaule, I cannot like of, but looke for a better reward, or will present you my service.

*J. S. at Pera to Jonas Aldrich at Patras*

13 August 1600 (f. 278 a)

...Master Nottingham (I make accompt), the consull, is with you longe before this. Your competitor ther did more then he had order from the ambassator, in making himsealf consull; His Lordship sent him no such comittion, and was extreemly displeased when he heard of his dealinge<sup>2</sup>. No doubt he will repent him of his so proseedings. I wished and intreated your establishment, but could not prevayle....

the time of Richard Staper's governorship, 'ordeyned him [Bishop] for consull in Cairo.' In a letter of 30 Nov. 1600 (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. iv) Lello says that he sent Bishop to Egypt as vice-consul, but the English merchants there (who had agreed to be under the French consul, on condition that they paid him no dues) refused to recognize him. A later letter (5 Dec. 1601) announced that in consequence of the dispute Bishop had been dismissed, and had thereupon become a Muhammadan (*Brit. Mus. Nero B xi*, f. 105 b).

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Nicholas Salter of 22 June, 1600 (f. 282 a), Sanderson said that the house was in such bad repair that 'it raynes in every rome.'

<sup>2</sup> For the dispute see Lello's letter of 4 July, 1600, in *Brit. Mus. Nero B xi*, f. 97.

*Thomas Smythe, Governor of the Levant Company, to J. S.  
'Consull for the English Nation resident at Constantinoplie'*

12 September 1600 (f. 81 a)<sup>1</sup>

...I received yours of the 25 of May, with a postscript of the seaventh of June, wherein you make relation that you have written divers letters wherof you have received no answer. And as touchinge the ambassadors provision supp[l]ied by your means and credit, and his torne herby served, we toke knowledge therof by our letters sent by the Exchange, and therein noted the Companies acceptation of your good service and ther resolution of the means how His Lordship should be supplied hereafter. . . . And as touchinge the outrages, rapines, and roberries of our English men of warr in the Straights, we have very earnestly inforced the complaint therof not only to the Lord Admirall but also to the residue of the Lords of the Councell<sup>2</sup>; so as we doubt not but order wilbe taken hereafter for the prevention of the mischefes. The bills of exchange mad upon the Companie for monys taken up for His Lordships use in [from ?] the factors of Master Leat and Master Salter are accepted and shall be satisfied as conveniently as they may. The late troubles offered to our Company to supplant us out of our traid by others, who wer redy to undertake to pay to Her Majestie an imposition of vs. vjd. upon every c<sup>th</sup> [i.e. cwt.] of currants, vj ducketts upon every butt of muskadell, vs. upon every barrell of oyle (wherof I make noe doubt advise hath com to Constantinople divers wayes) hath ben the cause why your expectation hath not ben answered by letters from hence; for that whiles those troubles held, the Company wer so disturbed and so distracted that they could not resolve how to direct ther owne busines nor assure themselves of the havinge of the traide. But these stormes beinge overblowen, we hope we shalbe able to hould a better corespondency, not only in the entercourse of our letters and advices but in all other things concerninge the trade and goverment of the Company. The said troubles hath

<sup>1</sup> Printed also in *The Dawn of British Trade*, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Dawn*, pp. 277, 282, 283; also the *Reports on the Hatfield House MSS.*, pt. x, p. 455; pt. xii, pp. 549, 622; and *S.P., Turkey*, vol. iv, 4 Oct. 1600, 7 Feb. 1601, 2 April and 29 May, 1602.

drevine us to undertake the trad at yerly farme of 4000*li.* to be freed of all the said impositions and to have our priveledges renewed; which priveledges are not yet under the great seale; by reason wherof we cannot proceed to order our government, as we hereafter intend, and therefore I am to pray you to have pacience touchinge your demand of increase of consideration untill our estate be settled and a course resolved howe the Queens farme and all other nedfull charges shalbe supplied. . . .

*Nicholas Salter in London to J. S. at Pera*

12 September 1600 (*f.* 143 *b*)

...I have bine for the most part in the contrye all this sommer; and nowe comminge home, I find a shipp frayghted for that place, to say the Mermaid<sup>1</sup>, for accompt of Master Staper, Master Sandie, Master Robert Offlie<sup>2</sup>, and some others. And for that I was willinge to have some adventure in hir, I gott of Master Offie one tune [i.e. ton] frayght, and so have laden in hir one small trusse (but 19) kersies. . . . They cost me. . . 5*li.* 5*s.* per pece redy mony. I hope they will yeald 30 dollars at the least. . . . The clothes [i.e. broadcloths] likewise be fine and very good collours, and cost me first peny 23*li.* 15*s.* per pece. We doe orden-arylie sell such cloth in Aleppo at four dollars per pike<sup>3</sup>, and sometimes at five. Thes thinges goe partable in halfes betwext you and me. It shalbe in your choyse ether to take out your half there, or retorne it againe in company together. But my half at any hand lett be retorned by the shipp to Thomas Freaque, for I am bound to lade a tunne in hir; which he must accomplish with that mony. . . . Master Hanger hath bine often with me aboute his sonne, frome whome he hath received many pitifull complaints, as namely that you would have had him to stabbe D. Bourne, or at least to have broken his nose. . . . Yf you be de-

<sup>1</sup> From Simonds' letter of 1 November it appears that she was commanded by Thomas Best. This was doubtless the sturdy seaman who afterwards (1612) led the East India Company's Sixth Voyage and won renown by defeating a Portuguese fleet off Swally. That (as here shown) he had been engaged in the Levant trade has not hitherto been known.

<sup>2</sup> For many years a member of the governing body of the East India Company.

<sup>3</sup> Turkish *pik*, a cloth measure varying from about 18 to 28 inches.

sierouse to be quitt of him, as in your former you wrote me, his father is contented, so as he may have his 50 *li.* againe; otherwise not. And to say as I thinke, I doe not see howe you can else with honestie be quitt of him, except you can justly accuse him of some notoriouse crime... We have written to the ambassiator to see yf he can end matters betwext you...

*The Same to The Same*

4 October 1600 (*f.* 271 *b*)

...The mony from the Company by your last bills of exchange is not yet received; wherby your brother is not paid. But the Company beinge nowe again restorred, I hope to receive it shortly....

*J. S. at Pera to Edward Abbot at Aleppo*

31 October 1600 (*f.* 276 *b*)

...For the offer of your kind company to Jerusalem I thanke you; but stay not for me. I doubt it wilbe to[o] tedious and long a voyadge for me to make nowe in my ould dayes. I have a great mind westward. God in His good time send me thether, for ther in that most blessed iland I longe to lay my bones....

*Thomas Simonds in London to J. S. at Pera*

1 November 1600 (*f.* 268 *b*)

...Master Salter received letters from his man in Alexandria, dated in June last, importinge the being their of the John and Frauncis, and their pretence [i.e. intention] within 20 dayes after to begin to lade; as also that the master was accused at Cairo of certayne piracies committed in the Levant seas, and theirupon the Bassa of Cairo had sent order to Alexandria to examin our said master and search his shipp; which was don, but nothinge found to accuse him. Howbeit, he was sent to Cairo to answere the matter. Also wee understand by letters from My Lord Embassador that he had sent one Bishopp to be connsell of Cairo; which wee live in fear will breed great dissention with the French connsell, who befor his cominge thether used our people with all

kindnes. And to saye the truth, except My Lord Ambassador could procur him the conselledg of all foresteres [i.e. foreigners], it will nott be worth his chardgis. By letters of the 26th September in Zant wee heare nothing of the John [and] Francis comming thether; so we live in great feare their is som extraordinary troble happened to them att Cairo or Alexandrya...[PS.] The Company hath made complaint to the Lords of the Counsell of the badd dealinges of theise men of warr in the Streights, and the[y] have acquainted the Queene withall, who doth purpose to wryt letters to the Graun Signior of her inocencie therein, and theirwithall her command to the embassador to mak staye of all piratts shipes and goods, and to punnish the persons according to their deserts.

*Ƴ. S. at Pera to Nicholas Salter in London*

15 November 1600 (f. 274 a)

...Now that Bugdania [i.e. Moldavia] and Valachia is open, and Poland in great frendship with thes, by reason of the driving Michall from the princedom of Transilvania, sales canott chose but be good, and all that I writt for in good request, espetially kersies. A wourse time then we have had thes two years past was never in thes parts; yet now I see so great alteration liklie that, if I had any sparke of advise or counsell that might prevaile with my frends, I would say and pray them for ther owne proffitt to send what I writt for. Of the three dayes triumphe for the taking of Canisia<sup>1</sup> by Ebrim Bassa and the Polacks rebuffing of Michall Vivoyda, I knowe is lardglie advised by the Lord Ambassator. ...[PS.] Upon effectuall answeare of this letter I will resolve awhile to stay, or with all good speed to retourne.

*Sampson Newport at Aleppo to Ƴ. S. at Pera*

20 November 1600 (f. 80 a)

...Her com a letter from Signor John Midnall some four dayes past<sup>2</sup>. He is well and in good health. He maketh accompt it

<sup>1</sup> Kaniza, on the Theiss, was captured by the Turks in Oct. 1600 (see Mundy, vol. 1, p. 75).

<sup>2</sup> Mildenhall had left Aleppo on 7 July, 1600, on his memorable journey to India (see *Early Travels*, p. 53, and Cartwright, p. 10).

wilbe February next twelfmounth before he retorne for Alepo, if God send health and libertie. . . .

*Thomas Simonds in London to The Same*

2 December 1600 (*f.* 268 *b*)

...I have received letters from Zant of the fyrst October, importing the comming [t]hether of the John [and] Frauncis out of Egypt, and therewithall such exclamation from all the marchants in Cairo for sending thether Bishopp to be their counsell, considering the[y] did wryt a generall letter unto His Lordshipp, praying him nott to troble them with any, and (as the[y] wryt) My Lord retorned them ansswer that, though his choyce did nott lyk them, it should lyke others. Also the[y] wryt that this Bishop is as badd a fellowe as bad maye be, and of that bace esteem that he did of late in those partes sell aquavytey [*aquavita*] to the Turkes for the peny; and I dare assure you he hath abused his creaditours in England verye greatly. Nott a little marveling that His Lordship would be so forward, without authoritie from the Company here, to send any connsell thetheir or any plac ells, although he had found men farr more suffycient. And to say the truth, except His Lordshipe could procure the consell for our nation to have the consoldge of all foristers, the smale trade wee have thether will not be able to beare his chardgis without eatinge out all the proffyt. Now for the connsell sent to Petrasse, wee heare that after he had made censure of certayne goods in the possession of our Englishe pirates, hee victuled them out agayn, and (as wee are creadyblye enformed from Zant) the said pirates are gon into the bottome of the Streights a theevinge agayne, and hath vowed to spare non whomsoever the[y] meete. So it is greatly feared there bad dealing may turne the Company many greate mischiffes. . . . This bearar, Master Morison<sup>1</sup>, it should seeme, hath geven out certayn money to be payd att his retorne from Constantinople, and hath made asseuraunc[e] uppon his lyfe for a yeare. The gentillman I never harde but was of civill and good caryadge; so no doubt his owne good behavvour will deserve

<sup>1</sup> Not Fynes Moryson (see his life in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*).

kind entertaynement of His Lordshipp.... Our four shippes for the East India<sup>1</sup> goeth forward with all expedition; and 12 more out of Holland and Zeland, who no doubt will wholye spoyle our trade of Turkie for spicis. Our newe pattent not yet sealed<sup>2</sup>. The Bristoe men sewe hard to have libertie for two ships a yeare, which is as many as all they can well sett a work.... If the Queene weare so pleased, I wishe all were sett att libertie, being of opinion the great chardges imposed uppon us will beate out all our proffits....

*J. S. at Pera to Nicholas Salter in London*

7 January 1601 (f. 270 a)

...I dare remitt myself unto Master Althams wisdom. I knowe he will not, for contience sake in respect of Christian love and charitie, lawe upon me for my factoridge, if lawe possible would prove I ought not to take four per cent. that I had of those teeth, amountinge scarcie to two ducats, for then indeed he might bringe others upon my backe, for whome I have dealt for greater somes. But yet I imagine the lawe, at least contience, allowes a factor in Turkie as much and more then in Flanders. For France, they be ether fooles or decevers if they facke<sup>3</sup> for lesse then four per cent. The Venetian factors in all thes parts takes five per cent.; for only receivinge and payinge of mony they have two per cent., as also for delivering goods out of ther hands to any other factor, thought [i.e. though] not sould, they have two per cent. So should I have taken of Master Leats delivered to Lumbard, and then he would have had somewhat to have harped upon; but I not only have not allowed myself that most due, but have remitted all consoldge of the goods sould by Lumbard, which was valued at 1500 chekines at the least. Se[e] the witt of my ould pate to allowe Master Leat 30 ducats Gould for so extreame abusinge and to his power utterly discreditinge of me.... For my servants many lamentations to his father, [these] cannott

<sup>1</sup> Lancaster's fleet for the first voyage of the East India Company.

<sup>2</sup> The charter of the Levant Company was sealed on 31 Dec. 1600 (see the Introduction).

<sup>3</sup> Undertake the duty of a factor. This word is not found in the *Oxford Eng. Dict.*

nowe be recauled, now matters betwen us are concluded. We com home together... My most hartie comendations to yourself, Master Georg Salter, your wifes and childeren...

*The Same to The Same*

17 January 1601 (f. 271 b)

...I marvaile Master Hanger would so rashlie deale upon his sons advise. Doth he thinke it a smale matter to bringe me in disgrace with so great a man as Sir Robert, Hir Magestis secretary? If I should be cauled before the Counsell in any other matter me importinge, that faulse complaynt would rest a blott in my busines. ... Indeed, I was agreved at his son my servant, who stoad by when thaurt the face by a set match of a malitiose company I was wounded, the executioner beinge that nomynated Bourne, and that he my servant strocke not at any of them, nether of them that held me, nor at him who had bebrewed his hands in my blod....

*The Same to Jeffrey Kerby at Aleppo*

22 January 1601 (f. 270 b)

...As yet the Mermaid is not arrived... In hir... I purpose to com for Scanderoon, and so along for England. I shalbe right glad if perhaps your resolution might be that waye. The Royall Defence not hence departed, but redy, expectinge a good winde. She goeth for som place in the Archies [i.e. Archipelago] to lade wines, as is thought, and so for Smerna, Sio, and England. God prosper hir. Newes from Venis that the imprisoned Portingall<sup>1</sup> is acknowledged kinge and departed out of Venis, som say or thinke for England. The warrs between the Kinge of France and D[uke of] Savoy very hott. Som report another parlie of peace between England and Spaine, and hope of effect, which God graunt. Four ships for accompt of our Company gon for the Indies, in company of four Flemings. They (ours) are the Mali[ce] Scurdge (that was My Lord Cumberlands), the Susan, Assen-

<sup>1</sup> The pretender who called himself Don Sebastiano: see *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. ix, nos. 765, 964, 967; 'Portugal' (H. Morse Stephens), p. 288; and Chamberlain, pp. 24, etc.



tion, and Hector. A ship cauled the Trogian, for accompt of Master Stapers and his sons, gone for Argier and so for Alexandria Egitto. . . . Her is reported that great hurt is lattlie hapned to that cittie Venis by a flowe of water. It hath don (as her[e] is credeble said) a million of gould damadge. . . . I am very weary of this base merchandicing place. . . . I will for little Ingland againe. . . .

*J. S. at Pera to Edward Abbot at Aleppo*

26 January 1601 (f. 346 a)<sup>1</sup>

...I purpose by the grace of God and His good assistance to come see you in Aleppo by the shipp Mermaid, and so peradventure may accompany you to Jerusalem, for I make accompt the shipp will stay at Scandaron all sommer season. . . . The Vizier<sup>2</sup> mansuld, and some thinke will scarce escape stranglinge. In his place Mahamett Bassa Emishege<sup>3</sup>. God graunt him a better frend to us then his predecessor. . . .

*The Same to The Levant Company*

7 February 1601 (f. 269 b)

It is strainge to me that by the ship Mermaid, who arrived her one Candlemas Day, I received no letter, nether wourd otherways, from Your Worships. I purpose, God willinge, to depart hence in hir and so for Ingland. The accompt of imposition and consoledge her by me formerly received I geve unto the Lord Ambassator, and copie [I] will, before my hence departure, send overland. According to my oath, I have required the due of shippinge com into the Archies and Royall Defence to this port. Master John Garraway<sup>4</sup> answeareth he thinketh not requisite to pay any such loane or consoledg, but that the ambassator may be

<sup>1</sup> Entered again at f. 270 a.

<sup>2</sup> Hâfiz Ahmad (see p. 204). He was restored to favour later.

<sup>3</sup> This was Hasan, nicknamed Yemishji (the greengrocer). His appointment was reported by Lello in a letter of 7 Feb. 1601, in vol. iv of *S.P., Turkey* (Public Record Office); see also *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. ix, no. 960. He was dismissed and strangled in Oct. 1603 (Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 661, and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.n.).

<sup>4</sup> Chief merchant of the *Royal Defence*.

furnished at Alepo or otherways better. I shewed him at his last being her your acts and my order by Your Worships authoritie, wherein the former cavill of not sufficient firmes [i.e. signatures] is cutt of; offering to shewe the sam againe, which he said was no need, for his resolution is not to pay ether imposition or consoledge. Thes of the Mermaid (lattly arived) also say they heard not in Ingland of any such matters. Ed. Barlie repenteth to have paid so much and, seing others refuse, his purpose (as he hath reason) is not to allowe any more of that formerlie by him sould or to sell. So that the ambassador, beinge alike answered, must of force devise to provid in other manner for the needfull...

*Thomas Freake at Aleppo to J. S.*

21 March 1601 (f. 266 b)

...All such monyes you bringe alonge with you for this place lett it be in good dollars [?] or royalls of eyght, for gould is not worth so much by one in the hundereth... Within these six dayes wee expect a great caravan from Bagdatt with great store of indico. ...The 9th present departed from this place in company togetheir Master Beedell (our preatcher), Signor Edward Abbott, Signor Jeffery Kerbye, one Master [John] Elkin (a j[e]nt), and Jasper Tyen[t] (judgler [i.e. jeweller]), who are gone overland by the waye of Damasko, and havinge seenne Jerusalem will retorne agayne shortly for this place<sup>1</sup>, and I make accompt that Signor Edward Abbott, Signor Jeffery Kerbye, and Master Elkin wilbe company for you to Ingland. By a letter from Master Cartwright of ther voyadge into Percia, hee advizeth that he hath ben robbed in those parts of d[ollar]s in d[ollar]s 1600 in mony and jewells, which the company here adventured with him<sup>2</sup>, and so is gone nowe to bee entertayned by Master Rorbert Sherly; but Master Mydnall, havinge escaped that danger, prosedithe of his voyadge for Lahoare. Here is newes that a man of warr of Messyna hath robbed a Venetian shippe off[f] of Sipris, and hath taken out of

<sup>1</sup> This was the journey of which the first named traveller (Biddulph) published an account, under the title of *The Travels of certaine Englishmen*....

<sup>2</sup> The truth of this story is very doubtful. Neither Cartwright, in his published account of the journey, nor Mildenhall (*Early Travels*, pp. 53, 54) makes any allusion to the robbery.

heer 27 gropes [see p. 181 *n*] of mony and 6 peces of ordynance; as also hath taken a carmezale and hath put to the sorde 60 Turkes and Moores which they found in heer....

*J. S. at Pera to Jeffery Luther in Venice*

27 March 1601 (f. 269 b)

...Newes, I make accompt, wilbe lardglie advised you from others: of the Bastangi Bassha out of office<sup>1</sup>, and others manslled and put out of the Seraglio; Ed. Abbott gon for Jerusalem, whose company I thought to have had thether; but others, I thinke, will goe, which will be as well.

*The Same to Thomas Simonds in London?*

7 April 1601 (f. 269 a)

...[The Mermaid goes ?] to Sidon within thes 23 days at the farthest, with wouls laden and Jewes passingers. This fits my desier well to see Jerusalem, whether (God willing) I intend, and so backe in the shipp to Alepo, turne to Scandarone, and in the Mermaid for Ingland....

<sup>1</sup> The following account of the outbreak is given in a letter (date missing) from Lello, preserved in Brit. Mus. MS. *Nero B xi* (f. 104 b): 'The souldiers (shaphees or horsmen) being gathered in troopes together, to the number of 60,000, upon displeasure taken against dyvers favorites belonging to the King, which by their and the Queene Mothers meanes had sold dyvers pensions and payes belonging to them; therefore they requyred the King to deliver them all into there hands to cutt of there headds (except his mother); if not, they wold depose him and put up another. Which put him in such a terrour and feare that he yealded unto all, except one, the Capiaga, his cheffe chamberlen, who he desyred might be spared and presented him; for which he wold not only give them a liberalitie but encrease of their pay. Towards whom they seing his fervent love, refused, sayeng they wold have his headd only, and all the rest their lives should be spared, with bannysment the court. The Admirall interposed himself as a mediatour betweene the King and them, and labored so much therein that in fine they yeilded to spare him, geving them 50,000 chekenes amongst them, with other secrete gifts to some of the principallest, and he restored to his place agayne, and all the rest cleane banished, amongst which we have lost our greate freind of Bustan Geebassa.' The outbreak, and the dismissal of the Bustānji Bāshi, are mentioned in a letter from the Venetian ambassador, dated 1 April, 1601 (N.S.) (see *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. ix, no. 969).

*The Same to Jefferery Kerby at Aleppo*

21 April 1601 (f. 266 a)

...God (I hope) hath sorted us out a frendly company: our captaine and master Thomas Best, Master Nottingham, Signor John Warren, Signor William Pearch, and John Gale, with one Master Lowe. By sea we are laden with taregretta and woules for Sidon in Galali, and so by land hope to passe throughe Jerico to Jerusalem, backe in the ship to Scanderon, and then to Alepo....

*The Same to His Brother Thomas in London*

7 May 1601 (f. 81 b)

Kynd and loveing brother, Yours of the 8 Januery 1601 I have received. Be sur the happiest newes that ever I desired to he[a]r that you ar in grace with My Lord of Canterbury His Grace [i.e. Whitgift]. I love you, and will (God willing) come live with you or near about you. The house you wryt of is much to dear, for it must be all built and I think the fee simple wer dear enough att  $\frac{1}{2}$  that you speak of, except their be some tenements more then I imagin of. It seemeth to mee our brother in lawe, R. H., is rich, by the pryde and scorne he seemeth to have of his best frends. God continewe him welthye, and make him wise to deserne his frends. Puritan fooles ar but paulterye companions, and for pecok lett him goe lyk a mecok<sup>1</sup>. I cannott but think on our simpering sister. I like that the[y] love together, and so lett them alone, for the two are one. If God call mee befor my retorne, I have geven her but 200 *li*. If the shipp Mermayd aryve in England in saffetye and I alyve in her, you shall receive the gayne and pleasur of my lyff emongst you; but if otherwise happen she com without me (for all is in God), then you shall of mine emongst you, my other frends, and Master Salter (you and he beinge executors) receave an indiffer[ent] some, as by my will appeereth, which I keepe by mee, if peradventur occation. And so I and [end ?], with the helpe of the ambassiator seekinge out

<sup>1</sup> A 'meacock' was a milksop or a henpecked husband. Sanderson was fond of such jingles as 'peacock' and 'meacock.'

Crisostom in Greeke for you. My next shalbe from Jerusalem, God willing. Towards the Holy Land tomorow, God willing, I take my voyadge....

*J. S. at Pera to Thomas Smythe in London*

8 May 1601 (f. 81 b)

...Thes are to certyfy that three dayes since I ended accompt of all your moneyes passed heare under my hands, as well that receavid by imprest as consoledge, with also what taken by exchange, and howe all [was] disbursed. The sayd accompt I have delivered unto the Honourable Ambassadour, accordinge as per order I was injoynd at my thence departur in the Hector by advise unto His Lordship frome the Worshipfull then Governer and Companye, he haveinge had the dispose of all, and att whose appoyntment most hath bin payd, as by the sayd appeereth. I have also sent coppye therof unto Your Worship and Companye, nothinge doubting but all or the greater part will accept of my good will performed in collectinge the saide; which hath bin to the uttermost of my power. Howe croked, envyouse, and malisously att fyrst some withstoode your acts hath bin tofor advised, and who hath fayled ever most and now also att last with absolut ansswer 'I will nott paye,' by those (of Your Worships) appoynted to auditt my accompt may be suffycently informed you. Onely this I lett you knowe: that thes marchants of the Meremayd have answered that in their judgments it was no reason to paye the imposition, nether would, but consoleadge wer willing, and have don, of the goods hither brought, but of that sould att Smirna and Sio onely consoledge one per cent., their dischargd....

*The Same to Nicholas Leate in London*

8 May 1601 (f. 82 a)

Thes are only to advise you of my departure in the Mermaid for Sidon and so for Scanderon. Your mony mad, cleare of all chargis, of the hungerst<sup>1</sup>, copper, and ten kersies is 1315 d[uca]ts Gould in

<sup>1</sup> Hungarian gold ducats.

gould; which I have ingroped [i.e. packed] and shipped in the said Mermaide, carienge the sam alonge with me to imploy for your best proffitt, etc. I com alonge (God willing) in hir for England. Your accompt [you will ?] receave at the hands of Master Nicholas Salter. I hope you will be well contented with all, for I have done my best....I hope the Company cannott mislike of my doinge, for I have for my pains charged them as consionably in my opinion as any resonable judge can requier. I love not to brave and swager; nether have in those accompts proffitted a peny more then I have sett downe; only freed myself of som consoledge (but not all). God send them a better officer in my place; for if I had thought it would have bine so troblesom, I would not have medled with it for 400 chequins, our mony. I have ingroped to cary for Allepo 601 d[uca]ts gould....[PS.] Pepper he<sup>r</sup> writeth to be arrived from Zues [i.e. Suez] 40,000 q[uinta]lls, and sould at 32 d[uca]ts. More expected, and thought will be better cheape.

*Henry Lello at Constantinople to The Levant Company*

May ? 1601 (f. 364 b)

Wheras Thomas Glover hath supplied the place of Paule Pinder ever since his departure from hence, and for his stipend and wages I have not allowed him anythinge, dependinge upon Your Worships order herin, havinge often written to that effect (as he himself likewise), wherunto no answer hath ben geven; in regard wherof, as also for want of dewe maintenance of himself hath often required me that I wold geve him out of Your Worships treasury such a som as should be fitt to mayneteyne him with like credit as other ambassadors secretaries are; wherunto I being unwillinge of myself to enterprise anythinge without Your Worships consent and good likinge, yet in respect as well of his present want and satisfaction, as also by reason I cannot be fitted her with a more sufficient man for the place of secretary then he is, I thought good to call the merchants her resident to counsell and consult with me what course was best and fittest to be taken and what they, knowinge and havinge longe experience of his

<sup>r</sup> Benjamin Bishop at Cairo.

service and sufficiency in this place, thought him worthy to have, to destinatte and appoint the same, and therof to advise Your Worships by our generall letter<sup>1</sup>. We therefore, consideringe his present want, the good service he hath and futurly is hoped he will doe the Company, by reason of his longe pratticke in the contry, speaking and writinge the Turkish tongue, thought and judged it reasonable that, for and sence the time of Pawle Pinder his departure untill the last of December (which maketh 12 mounths), to give him out of Your Worships treasury her[e] 100 chequins, and for hereafter, towards the findinge of his apparrell, necessities, and reward for his service, yearly 200 chequins, beginninge from the first of January 1600 [-01]<sup>2</sup>.

*J. S. at Sidon to Thomas Best,  
Master of the Mermaid*

8 June 1601 (f. 178 b)

I pray you, at your arivall in Alepo, deliver the capitulations to the hands of the consull, Master R. Coulthurst; and yf perhapps you goe not thether, deliver them to Signor William Perche to deliver. Also the sealed packett of writtinges, which I deliver you hearwith, put emonge your writtinges of import, and deliver them to no man but myselfe, when God shall send me againe abourd your shipp. Yf God caule me before our meetinge, then accordinge to direction deliver them, I pray you. Nowe further I intreat you that my servant, John Hanger, may remaine abourd the shipp in the order he hetherto hath done. I will answeare you for his diett to your content, with many thanks, as also for his chest frayght; and for all your other curetises shewed towards me I will not be ungratefull. I would have John Hanger lie abourd, by reason of ill aire in S[c]andarone ashore. For feare

<sup>1</sup> Besides Lello, the following signed the letter: Sanderson, John Garraway, Edward Barley, John Warren, William Perche, John Strachey, John Gale.

<sup>2</sup> On the opposite page is entered Glover's receipt for a payment to him by Sanderson of 200 chequins on 2 May, 1601, of which half was for his services to the end of 1600, and the rest for a half-year's instalment of his salary. Above this is copied another receipt given by Glover on 14 Dec. 1599 for 100 chequins paid to him by Sanderson by Lello's instructions. A note by the latter shows that the payment was in return for services rendered 'at the delivery of the present.'

of the plague I will not have him come up to Alepo, nether have I need of his services there. I desiare greatlie to carye him home in helth; which God for His mercie graunt.

*Henry Lello at Constantinople to Thomas Sanderson  
in London*

24 October 1601 (f. 181 a)

As unacquainted, I commend myselfe unto you. Hearwith I send you letters which came frome your brother and my frend, Master John Sanderson, frome Damascus and Tripolie. I hope, not longe after the receypt hearof, he wilbe with you in England; to whome I referr you for the manner of his voyadge to Jerusalem. He left order with me to inquier after certeyne Greeke books you writt for, the note wherof necligentlie I lost. Therfore I pray you by the first send me the like at lardge, what books you desier, and [I] will not forgett to doe my indevoure thierin. I doe remember St. Augustine was one; which I have found heare, beinge bound together with St. Gregory; but I have not bought it, because, as I remember, you would have them of auntient time written, and this is printed. Somtimes books of wourth ar found heare for nothings, and other some time not to be found for mony; because fewe or none, espetially Grekes, that ar learned, which knowe or regard any books written by thier lerned ansesters. Yf before your advise I find any, I will send you the same<sup>1</sup>. . . I writt you thus much because I see Master Sanderson his earnestnes therin; wherein he shall find no remedie, but spend his time. I writt it in good love towards him, desieringe his wellfaire as my owne; and would be glad to find him married to a good and vertiouse wife, and of him she shall find a good husband. Yf I may doe yourselfe or him and [any ?] pleasure, I pray you commaund me<sup>2</sup>. . .

<sup>1</sup> Lello goes on to refer to John Sanderson's dispute with his apprentice Hanger, and to deprecate any following up of the matter at home. He evidently considered that there were faults on both sides.

<sup>2</sup> John Sanderson comments bitterly in a marginal note: 'Much promised in this letter; nothinge performed.'



*Paul Pindar at Venice to J. S.*15 February 1602 (*f.* 267 *b*)

Your professed frendshipe at my being att Constantinople gave me just occasion to imagine you my frend; but since, by relation of others (how trewe it be I knowe nott) you have nott soe continewed; whereatt I somewhat marvell, not knoweing what occasion I shoulde have geven you that might cause this alteration.... Your kind brother in London have ingaged mee for his most kind entertaynement for your sake, for which I much rest behoulding. Att my departure frome London he gave me a token for you, with a letter. The letter hereinlosed I send you; but the token I researve to send with fyrst convenient conveaunce. By reason of the plauge in Germany we are her inforced to have all thinges opened and eared [*i.e.* aired] att lazaretto, and so was this your token, and so as [*?* is] in my hands open, contayning a pear of sylk stockings, a cuttwork band, and a wrought handkercher. I must retorne into England within ten dayes; but if befor my departur no occasion searve to send, I will leave [*it*] to see [*?* be] sent with the fyrst in my absenc....

*J. S. at Scanderoon to Thomas Glover*16 April 1602 (*f.* 149 *a*)

...Nowe beinge to depart toward Zant (so peradventure throughe Fraunce for England) the fine [*i.e.* end] of this monethe, I commend me by thes most hartelie unto you, wishinge your wellfare even as my owne, not doubtinge but to your content in some measure matters ar effected at Tripolie. When God shall send you to Stambole, writt me your mind; but in your important busines reteyne still your other frends, I meane my elders of the Turkie Company, for so wilbe your most advantadge.... Be measureable meke in the smaule time [*of your*] beinge with the ambasiatour. It wilbe [*to*] your creditt. Support his imperfections....



*SIR PAUL PINDAR, Ambassador from  
James I.<sup>st</sup> to the Grand Seignior  
From an Original Picture in the Possession  
of James Forbes, Esq.<sup>r</sup> of Stenhouse Hall  
Painted at Constantinople in 1611. —*

SIR PAUL PINDAR.



*Henry Lello 'at the Vines of Pera' to J. S. in London*

12 February 1603 (f. 181 b)

...Insomuch the Greeke booke servith to little purpose ther, and that it is heare rated at a highe price, you shall doe well (as your advise is) to send it backe, and with what speed you may, to remove and take awaye the dayly importunitie of the honore [i.e. owner] therof<sup>1</sup>. The Patriarke of Alexandria hath promised to send me two Greeke books of good wourth, the which by the next shippinge I doe expecte and by our next conveyance will recommend them unto your brother<sup>2</sup>... Tell him that yf he have any request unto me for matters heare concerninge his studies... for what frendshipp as I am able to lend unto him, ether in that or other, he shalbe suer therof; and also yourselfe, accordinge to former promise. And nowe to shewe what my opinion is concerning our trade in thes parts. It is not that which I could wish it weare; rebellions in the contries aboute, and seditions and rumors of soldiers within the cities havinge broken the hart of the state and mad it subject to a spedie eneversion [inversion ?], yf expedition be not had to salve the impostumated sores therof. The spahies not longe since have beheaded the Capie Aga and another Aga<sup>3</sup>, great favoritts and neere unto the Kinge, who was inforced to come out unto them and, against his will, to see justice done uppon them. And nowe the other day they conspiered against thier generall<sup>4</sup>, lately come frome the

<sup>1</sup> 'The said booke was sent backe, and he receavd it at the hands of Master Thomas Glover' (marginal note).

<sup>2</sup> 'He brought two written Greeke books—homilies, eleven chapters of Janesis, twelve chapters of Mathewe—but presented them to Sir Thomas Bodlie for the library, with Plato and other Lattin books of smaule esteeme' (marginal note). Dr Craster has kindly informed me that the presentation (made in 1608) consisted of two Chrysostom MSS. (homilies on Matthew and on Genesis), one Latin MS. (a fifteenth-century copy of Seneca's tragedies), and four printed books (a Martial, and three of lesser note). Dr Craster added that *MS. Arch. Selden A 71\** in the Bodleian includes an acknowledgment (in Greek) of a debt from Neophytus, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Lello, dated 1603.

<sup>3</sup> The Qapu Agha Ghasnefer and the Kislar Agha Osman (see Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 656).

<sup>4</sup> Hasan Yemishji (*ibid.* pp. 656–9). See Lello's letters to Cecil (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. IV, ff. 203, 205, 212) for a fuller account of these troubles.

warrs; whose head likewise they would have had, but beinge favored and defended by the janearies, the Kinge commaundinge the same (the better to breake them of thier wills), they rest frustrate of that thier designe; and at present within the citie they ar disgraced and punished diverslye; some taken and executed; others well beaten and left without clothes as they passe in the streets. So as nowe they ar defamed, and by the jamoglains (who ar a people the most basist of all others) troden underfoote and dishonored. Many other accidents have happened; as the displacinge, imprisoninge, and makinge away of viziers, mufties, and other more vulgar officers. The misery and deadnes of the time wounderfull great; nether merchaunts nor other able longer to hould out and induer the miserie and sharpenes therof. And whearas you desier to see me well at home, I geve you most hartie thanks therfore, and as greatlie desier it myselfe, and that presentlie, yf it so pleased the Almighty<sup>1</sup>...

*John Ker at Scio to J. S. in London*

9 August 1603 (f. 385 a)<sup>2</sup>

...By Master Alexaunder Sharpy<sup>3</sup> I wryte [i.e. writ] you a letter, importinge onely my harty comendacions, whereinlosed I sent you a smal Turkish handkercher in token of my loving affection toward you.... Now havinge so good oportuenety, I thought it my parte to salute you, espetially havinge so fitte occasion as by our deare and moste lovinge freind, Master Thomas Glover<sup>4</sup>, whose

<sup>1</sup> Sanderson notes on this: 'No, he did not so desiare, but made means and would very gladlie have stayed; but his ingratitude to the house of Stapers caused chefelie his retorne. It is to be doubted that pride and ingratitude will also tomble doune his successor. I wish better; but God hath His wourke and doth His will.' Other marginal comments on the letter are equally unfavourable to the writer, whose assurances of good will are stigmatized as 'all faulse and most fayned.'

<sup>2</sup> An original letter, inserted in the volume.

<sup>3</sup> Sharpie went home in March 1603, carrying with him a strong recommendation from Lello to the Levant Company, in which he was described as 'one whome Your Worships at the tyme of the present sent, and recommended unto me to serve as maister of my howse' (Brit. Mus. *Nero B xi*, f. 110 b).

<sup>4</sup> In a letter to King James of 12 Nov. 1603 (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. iv, f. 239), Lello said that he had sent his secretary home to lay before His Majesty the state of affairs at Constantinople. Glover seems to have returned to his post about May 1604.

good proceedinges and indeavors I beeseech God with good successe to prossper. It is well knowne, both to you and the whole Company, by due prooffe in their bussinesses, that he is a man all sufficient, both in their affaires abroad and at the Porte. And that he merryteth their beste preferment before all others, these alligations may be inferd: his experience in the manners and customes of the Turkes; his profound knowledge in their lawes, beeing able to reade and wryte all processes therein; his perfect understandinge of all their languages, whereby the deceipt and gile of his drugamen, as also their simplicitie in not rightly declaringe a matter, maie be apprehended and amended; his credite in the courte, the Vizeares admiringe at his spirite and corage (the want of which in the cheife member hath made the creadite of th' English nation to hange the heade and blushe at the open reproches and scornes of th' other nations)<sup>1</sup>. You have knowne the contrary, when ours hath bin in the hight and fullnes of reputation; as also you have seene it many yeares in the wane. But now heres one can assuredly informe you that it is utterly obscured; and if your Company will ever shine with any sparke of honor or creadite in Turkey ageaine, they moste [i.e. must] presently inforce a necessary chaunge. . . .

*J. S. to His 'Cosen,' Henry Sanderson*

14 February 1604 (*f. 122 a*)<sup>2</sup>

According to promise and your request, I have cupled [i.e. put together] my papers, chased out the voyadges, wearied my penn, to put to your view my private travailes, publiquely performed, treatinge of no important matter to other apperteyninge; tedious perhaps to you in perusinge, but your desire of them may answer your paines. Yf you read without pleasure, frome your hand to mine againe lett them be convayed, least some malicious spirit may misconster my meaning. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sandys's praise of Glover as ambassador (p. 66): 'To give this no more than his due, for his place no man can be more sufficient; expert in their language, and by a long experience in their natures and practices, being more-over of such a spirit as not to be daunted.'

<sup>2</sup> This document, which is a corrected draft, is crossed through; so possibly the letter was never sent.

*J. S. in London to Robert Barton at Constantinople*

10 May 1604 (f. 82 b)

...I have sent you per Master Glover whatt you writt for, with other trifles<sup>1</sup>. . . . Whatsoever you have or can make, send at this shippes retorne in fine grogeraines white. . . . Buy not any mohairs, nether waterd chamblets, for in them is no profit; but Turkie carpetts of the lesser sort, yf they be well bought, ar heare good merchandice. Yf possible you can, I would wish you to compasse at least a baile of very fine grogerains. Master Glover, I knowe, will lend you mony. And writt me what you will have retorned you in the shipp that shall bringe the present. Nowe is your harvist. Be of good corradge, and prove your frends. Master Glover tells me he will inritch you. The ambassiator, I knowe, will doe somewhat for you. Myselfe, as I have alwayes, will tender your good. . . .

*The Same to The Same*

26 May 1604 (f. 83 a)

...I would have you make bould with Master Glover, yf you waunt mony. . . . He is very able, if covitiousnes and want of due consideration of his best frends blind not his discreation. For my owne part I cannott bragg of any gratitude at his hands, thoughe I knowe no frend he hath can deserve more then my deeds hath of him; yet hath he not honored me with the valewe of 2*d.*, at his comminge, all the time of his beinge, nether at his departure out of England. Matter of valewe I never expected; but with some trifle for remembrance I desiered to be honored. What meanes of his great good I have bine cannott be hidd, yf himselfe would; thoughe now, peradventure, rising he may scorne his best counsellor. . . . Yet I, continuing my always good mind towards him, wishing and very hartelie desiering to heare of his higheest advauncement, do writt this as a caviat, that covotiousnes overcome him not, but that of other his like frends, yf he have any comparable to me, he make of them a better esteeme. . . .

<sup>1</sup> A list is annexed. It includes fustians, hats, caps, stockings, gloves, bands, and silk points. The value was 11*l.* 17*s.* (f. 83 a).

*The Same to John Kitely at Constantinople*

26 May 1604 (f. 83 b)

Per Master Glover I received your kind, and in his case most favourable, letter. He is much bound to you; howe grateful, I knowe not. He is forward to the hiest place of preferment at Constantinople. Yf God prosper his health and actions this voyage, the next springe the present for the Great Turk shalbe sent him. . . . In your letter, good Master Kittle, lett be added what may be good for a continuell singinge in the eare, which hath after one sort continewed above a yeare. Some doctors say it is a wind gott into the braine, and some say it is a wind that springeth frome the stomake. But howsoever, wine and tobacco increaseth it for the time. The doctors also hould that myselfe, together with that, have a kind of decaing in the kidnies. Onse [i.e. for certain] I feele a weaknes in my backe and an atch at the two muskles of the poynted shoulder backe bones, and sometimes a heate at the kidnies. . . . Yet I walke (I thanke God) in health, and some say in better likeinge then at my firste comming into England. . . .

*The Same to Thomas Glover and Robert Barton at Constantinople*

9 August 1604 (f. 84 a)

Thes ar to intreat you, by the hands of Jacob (or whomesoever you shall thinke better) to cause thes toyes of amber to be sould for me, to say, two whole goms (cost both 4*li.*), three smaule cupps with covers (cost all 40*s.*), one paire of brastletts (13*s.* 4*d.*), one ringe with a crusifix in it (this Master Glover, I thinke, will sell well to the Patriarke or some other Greeke bishopp; it cost 30*s.*), and another ringe with a dowe [dove ?] (cost 10*s.*). The other 12 ringes cost 6*s.* 8*d.* per pece; so that the whole adventure is 12*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.*. . . . Lett them be sould howsoever, thoughe you but make of them what they cost. . . . What you make of them retorne by the next good shipp in grogerains (four threds) of 9 or 10 dollars per pece, or what you thinke good; but yf perhapp



you should be offered to mutch underfoote [i.e. under the normal price], then sell them not, but send them backe...and pray Jacob or some jeweller to geve you a noate what sorts of stones will best sell there, as balasses [balass rubies], topasses, saphiers, emrods [emeralds], and crisolites, and howe they ar valewable by thier weyght...and also write the valewe of pearle and unicorns horne<sup>1</sup>, currall, and ruffe amber, with all sorts of furs. For I make accompt that that place is so glutted with our common comodities that no good is to be done in them...By the grace of God, beinge occationed, I will adventur roundlie the next springe...[PS.] Pray Jacob to remember to advise me of baccam [*baqām*, Brazil wood], salsa, and other druggs, and not forgett what I have formerlie writt him of sbiacco. It is made (tell him) heare in England. I knowe that great store is brought frome Venis. I thinke we can send of it to sell as good cheape.

*J. S. in London to Henry Lello at Constantinople*

11 August 1604 (f. 84 b)

I have writt Your Lordship divers since I receaved any frome you, and did not thinke at this time to have bine troublesome; but beinge intreated by my brother to put Your Lordship in remembrance of the booke John Chrisostom in written Greeke, yf it be possible; which yf the Patriarke or other Greeke churchman can find, what Your Lordship disboursseth shalbe repaid againe with great thanks, howsoever you shall appoynt. The favoure to my brother is great, yf it may be found, for it will stand him in very great stead and use (as he tells me), he beinge appoynted one of the tranclators of the Newe Testament for the Greeke tonge...

*The Same to Thomas Glover at Constantinople*

1 September 1604 (f. 84 b)

...Yf His Lordship or you of some [of] your acquaintance can gett any very ould tranclation in Greeke of the Newe Testament, it wilbe a singuler pleasure unto my brother yf the same be sent

<sup>1</sup> The horn of the rhinoceros, popularly believed to be an antidote for poison (see Roe, p. 254).

by the first conveyance. He also commendeth him unto you. [No ?] newes other then that, uppon Sonday was seventhnight, peace with Spaine [was] proclaimed throughe the citie; the Gran Conistable that day most royallie feasted at the Kings table; attended that day frome his lodging [at] Somersett House to the court by the Earle of Northa[m]pton<sup>1</sup> and 80 other knights, as somptuouslie mounted as when the King was attended throughe the citie. Uppon Satterdy last he departed London. He was allowed 300*li.* a day for his diet the time he remained in England. Yf you come for England, and by sea, I would wish you to adventure whatsoever you have in very fine grogerains of four or five threds; they ar nowe in request. Thus wishing you ever well (tho she your most troblesome sister<sup>2</sup> did partlie cause you to conjecture the contr[ar]y)....

*The Same to Anthony Abdy at Constantinople*

28 November 1604 (f. 85 a)

...Yf I might have some advise and incoradgment frome you, I would willinglie send some smaule matter of comodities for that place....Some [of] our frends sends teeth<sup>3</sup>. Writt me, I pray, what price they nowe and ar like to beare, yf peradventure five or six q[uinta]lls come thether at a clap. At this time heare ar not any in England, others then ar alredie shipped for Turkie, which ar not many. I thinke I borrowed Eppigrams onse of you and, lendingge them to a frend, weare never restored; in place of which, I pray, take this in good part which nowe I have sent you. I take them to be pritie and pithy; but howsoever they ar a token of remembrance....

<sup>1</sup> According to the Venetian ambassador in London, it was the Earl of Devonshire who escorted to Whitehall the Constable of Castile (Ferdinando de Velasco, Duke of Frias), who had come over from the Netherlands for the final stage of the treaty; and the date was Sunday, 19 August (*Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. x, pp. 128, 175, 178; see also Stow's *Annales*, p. 845).

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the Mrs Peacock mentioned later.

<sup>3</sup> Elephants' tusks.

*J. S. in London to Henry Sanderson 'at Bransbithe<sup>1</sup>  
Castell or Newcastle'*

16 March 1605 (f. 363 b)

Cosen Sanderson, I am constrayned to dart this letter of advertisement at you. I expect no more answeare then you have [given ?] my four formers. My frend Master Salter, at my request, refraines yet five weeks to put your bonde in sute; after which expect no daliance. You may well laughe at my follie, seeinge me fetched in so finelie. Had I not beleved your writtings and wourds, together with your servants insinuatinge perswaisions, we might have used frendshipp one of another, mutch profitable to both. I to you never spake other then my hart thought; you to me have manifested the contrary. When I first parlied with you, since my last comminge over, I little thought so smaule a some should make so great a breache, for not 50 but 500*li*. you might have commaunded of me to your benefitt, assueringe me no losse. Verelie I should have bine proud to have pleasuerd you and yours, beinge my dearest and (next my brother) nearest of blod. I tould you the desier and love I had to the northe of England, our native soyle; whether (by Gods grace) I purpose to make a sommers voyadge, in company, I hope, of good unfayned frends, together with Master Mony, who, I am well assuered, yf I have to attend, will cause me to be invited and welcom to most places.

*The Same to Robert Barton at Constantinople*

12 December 1605 (f. 86 b)

Because I tell you, and have writt you often, that your letters may miscary, and them that come to hand ar both foolish, distrustfull, and too commanding, therfore I perceave you writt doble by all convayancies; but the more your charge in postadge,

<sup>1</sup> Brancepeth Castle, of which the addressee was Constable. See *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1603-10, pp. 59, 66, for the grant of this post to Henry, and his son Samuel, for their respective lives (21 Dec. 1603), and for the bestowal of an annuity of 200*l*. on the same pair (12 Jan. 1604). The latter grant is referred to at f. 340 a of the MS.

for everyone cost you 18*d*. Two nowe at a clap, dated the 11th October, I paid 3*s*. portadge. Quiet yourselfe, and take this my last wourd, that by Master Glover I will send you retorne of the uttermost farthing of yours in my hands; which receaving, then you will have cause [to] refraine your writting and fond inditinge, which makes you ridiculus to some, but me in espetiall for defendinge and raisinge so ungratfull a person as yourselfe. But sutch is the wourld and this adge come to that fewe esteme and respect as they ought thier best frends. Well, I tell you againe and againe that you need to writt me no more but onelie by the shipp in which you doe send the amber back againe to me (it may be by the Viniyard); of which faile not, and advise only three wourds overland to whome you shall have delivered the same. In the box with the said amber send me six tartugle<sup>1</sup> combs of the very best and greatest sort, specked. . . . Yf yourselfe will not take so mutch paines, desier Master Pearch, Master Kitelie, or Master Sharpie; and I will answeare what they shall lay out, with many thanks. . . .

*The Same to John Kitely at Constantinople*

? August 1606 (f. 87 a)

I doe by thes most hartelie salute you and of a token have sent you, by the hands of the Lord Ambassiator, Sir Thomas Glover, a booke of phisique. I thinke it, being a Jarman doctors wourke and newelie come forth, will in some matters delight and instruct. . . . All things hath gone luckelie one the nowe ambassiators part; blessed he is every way. . . . I doe use that medisen sometimes (sina and epithimon<sup>2</sup>, with a chick) and find it good; but nether that nor any phisique I use doth cleare me of the sound in my eare, or rather eares. Suerlie it is a wind; but sutch and so it is that Sir William Padg<sup>3</sup> the last spring had me in hand a month and above, and ordeyned me electuaries and onelie one purge at the beg[innin]g, for I left him before the ending, having

<sup>1</sup> Tortoise-shell (Ital. *tartaruga*).

<sup>2</sup> Senna and doddergrass (*Cuscuta epithimum*).

<sup>3</sup> A William Page, of Kent, was knighted 4 July, 1604 (Shaw's *Knights*, vol. II, p. 134); but whether he was the doctor here indicated cannot be determined.

found myself wourse by oyle and a fume which he ordeyned, together with sivitt<sup>1</sup>, for my ears. The fume was bever codd<sup>2</sup>, two drams, a pugill<sup>3</sup> of camomile flowers, and two cloves, sodd in half a pint of white wine, and the fume of that put into my eare. Of this I found no good, but paid the poticary [for?] stuffe above 20 or 30s. I would they had bine so many pounds, so I had had helpe; for albeitt it hindereth nether my sleepe nor dothe any way anoy me (onelie a continuall sound), yet I wishe I weare ridd of it. I thinke verelie that my often taking tobacco, for that I swalowe the fume, which againe assending kepeth open the orgaines of hearing, for (I thanke God) as yet I heare very well. I have folowed your counsell nowe and then to goe to a merry comedie; but for the other *discargare, non ho tropo disiderio*<sup>4</sup>. So I live, and take nether ould nor young rabbitts<sup>5</sup>, for I have no lust to the meate. Most of my feede is mutch bread with that I eate, and tosts and beere to bedward, when I have made a good diner. Little apitide [appetite ?] to breakefast, except beare, ale, and tosts with nutmegg grated. When I drinke wine of any sort, then is the noyse more. Some little ache sometimes at my shoulder poynts, but no paine under my sides. My body reasonable full of fleshe, and I fuller faced then I was at Constantinople<sup>6</sup>....

*J. S. in London to Robert Barton at Constantinople*

? 28 August 1606 (*f.* 88 *a*)<sup>7</sup>

...I will doe the best I can for you. I have sent unto you... five chests [of] tinn, which is the best comoditie. Yf you find reasonable for it, refuse not your first markett; but yf (by the quantatie in the shipp) it be to cheape, you shall doe well to keepe it by you for a time. The juell is in the sockett of the ivory sent you to deliver Jacob, my Jewe. The juell, I say, is yours, as per accompt;

<sup>1</sup> A musky substance obtained from the anal glands of the civet-cat.

<sup>2</sup> Beaver stones, two small sacs in the groin of the beaver, from which 'castor' (used in medicine and perfumery) is procured.

<sup>3</sup> A big pinch or small handful.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., 'to the other method of unloading (*discaricare*) I have little inclination.'

<sup>5</sup> A rabbit was also called a cony, and that was a popular term for a prostitute.

<sup>6</sup> The conclusion of the letter is missing.

<sup>7</sup> The first part of the letter is missing.

and I send you, of a token, the gloves and the three books of the latest newes heare; one of which I am suer will make you laughe, beinge newes frome Bartholmewe Faire<sup>1</sup>. Faile not, I pray you, to deliver unto Signor Jacob the two peces of ivory, beinge an Indian candellsticke and a thinge of good valewe<sup>2</sup>. I thinke he will highelie esteeme it frome me, yf he be alive; yf dead, send me the same back againe in the shipp Exchange. It is strainge, and in a manner vexeth me, that all this while you have not sent me backe them amber juells.... Send them by this shipp Exchange, and writt me two wourds overland to whome you have delivered them.... Send me at least two of the greatest and very best speckeled tartugle combes, and 40 or 50 of the best sort of tartugle toothpicks, in some of the finest all collors cases.... 6 redd, 4 watched [i.e. blue (watchet)].... Gett also, yf you can, 5 or 6 orrange colloure cases, which send emptie, for I have of the horne tothpicks to put in them.... Laye them up first in some box, and then in an ordenary striped towell of 2½ or 2 dollars, for sutch a one I waunt. You shall without fayle be answered the valewe of all, with many thanks.... What of yours at any time coms to my hands, be they of great or smaule valewe, shalbe as safe and as profitable as in your owne or any other your friends.... I have a very good lute by me, which I wishe with you; but Sir Thomas carieth with him all sorts of instruments and exelent men in musique, as I am tould; so that I doubt not but your felicitie in particuler wilbe increased, for you have as mutch cause nowe to rejoyse (in my opinion) as ever you had in your life. God, you see, hath highelie advansed the nowe ambassiator every way. The place he is in is no smaule favoure of God; the Kinges favoure a great matter; but in his wife I hould him to be more blessed, for he hath matched with a most discreete, wise, milde, a very gentill gentillwoman; a lamb by hir father<sup>3</sup> and no lesse in hir owne nature; a lady wourthy to

<sup>1</sup> A poem by Richard West, entitled *Newes from Barth[olom]ue Fayre*, was entered at Stationers' Hall, 16 July, 1606 (Arber's *Transcript*, vol. III, p. 141 b).

<sup>2</sup> See f. 89 a for a letter, in Italian, from Sanderson to 'Giacob Carabon, Ebreo,' dated 28 Aug. 1606, requesting his acceptance of a piece of ivory from the East Indies.

<sup>3</sup> As here implied, Lady Glover's maiden name was (Anna) Lamb. This appears from the epitaph on her written by the Rev. William Foord, chaplain at Constantinople, quoted in Pearson (p. 40).

be ever most best beloved. I pray God continewe hir health ther and keepe hir husbands hart ever lovinge unto hir. I make accompt he will esteeme Master Kitelie and yourselfe his nearest frends, althoughe the trayne he hath be very great, for no newe commers can be comparable to ould frends<sup>1</sup>...

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*

13 February 1607 (f. 89 b)

...Master Baylie<sup>2</sup> longe since tould me that R. Barton was dead in August last. Howe Master Lillo hath dealt for his estate I make accompt I shall heare before Your Lordship can writt me after the receipt hearof. I thinke he died little wourth. Well, howsoever, an honest man is gone, and you have lost a good and faythfull servaunt. Master Baylie to me found himselfe agreved that you writt into Ingland that he could not be permitted to kisse the Grand Signors hand. For, walkinge in Pauls church, he tould me that, nowe Master Barton was dead, Master Lillo had gotton the copies of your letters, by which he perceaved your proceedinges against him. I answered that what you had written you spared not to speake; and so mutch of this matter, which requiers no answeare....

*The Same to The Same*

31 March 1607 (f. 95 a)

...I should be glad to knowe that he [Lello] had made some further allowance, since my thence departure, unto Master Barton of the deceased ambassadors estate, according to his

<sup>1</sup> The following note is written in the margin: 'Memorandum that this poore felowe R. Barton, beinge kinsman to the deceased and of at least 60 years of age, I pitied him and (as may apeare) procured for him 106 chequins; gave him of my owne 20 chequins; bought and retorned commodities for him. Which my charitable mind was rewardeed, after his deth, to my losse; for I paid for that a Scot claimed, one the behalfe of Mary Loughe, 58*li.*; 5*li.* wherof the Scot borrowed and cosened me of; 50*li.* the woman; and 3*li.* spentes [expenses?]. The dispute lasted until 1611, when on 18 Feb. Mary Lough, alias Locke, widow, administratrix of the estate of her brother Robert Barton, gave Sanderson a formal release from all claims (f. 144 b). Her claims against the Levant Company caused that body some trouble later (Hewins' *English Trade and Finance*, p. 45; see also Dasent's *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xxx, p. 464).

<sup>2</sup> See *Early Voyages*, pp. 50, 51, 66.

promise to me and, since I came thence, to the said Barton, as by his letters I can shewe. Yf he have so done, that some (whatsoever it may amounte unto) is mine, I haveng bought and paid a some of mony for the same unto Robert Barton before my coming awaie; which deede of gifte I shewed Your Lordship hear in London... together with a bill conteyning what mony I paid him for his said possibilitie. I hope Master Lilo hath dealt contionably. And for suer Barton, being ould, was covotious and no doubt had some hord of mony... But more hearof hear-after, when I shall have spoken with Master Lillo, who, I suppose, is by this time very neare Ingland... For newes I reffer Your Lordship to Master Stapers and Companies letters, who no doubt wright at lardge. The Angell is not yet arived. She was stayed and in a little troble at Mesina some 23 dayes, but departed thence towards Ingland the 2 of Febreury. The Cardinall hath agreed a truse<sup>1</sup> with the Hollanders for eight monthes, and is thought Spaine will make peace with them uppon any conditions which they shall desiere; which done, it is imagened the Spaniards will have a flinge at Barbarie. Our shipp<sup>2</sup> ar yet at the Lands End, uppon departure for the East India. The Hector hath had a smaule leake; in which shipp goeth captayne William Hawkins. They ar redie to depart with the first fitt winde. The Union not yet concluded, but is thought wilbe before the Parliement be dismiss<sup>3</sup>. The good Bishopp of London, Doctor Vahan<sup>4</sup>, is dead two dayes since. Who shall succeed him is not yet knowne, but is thought Bishopp Still<sup>5</sup>, a very lerned man...

*The Same to The Same*

30 April 1607 (*f.* 96 *b*)

...I am sory to heare Your Lordship and Master Lillo agree no better; for hear ar divers reports and men censure at thier pleasure. Nowe the Company have ordered that that I hope will

<sup>1</sup> See Gardiner, vol. II, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> The *Dragon* and the *Hector*, of the East India Company's Third Voyage.

<sup>3</sup> For the negotiations for a union between England and Scotland, see Gardiner, vol. I, pp. 176, 324-39.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Vaughan, appointed Bishop of London in 1604, died 30 March, 1607, according to the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*.

<sup>5</sup> John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells, did not succeed Vaughan.



sett you att peace and cause you to part frends. For the honore of our contry, it weare good ther were agreement. I pray Your Lordship commend me to Master Lillo, and, yf so you thinke good, deliver him the inclosed, sealed or unsealed at your pleasure. He promised the booke long since which nowe I writt him for. It doth somewhat import, yf it be to be had—I say, John Chrisostom in written Greeke, the oulder the better. I pray Your Lordships helpe yf Master Lillos departure be not to[o] sodayne, and that it would please you to disbourse for the same, say it be 20, 30, or more chequins, yf nead be; the said bookes, I say, being in romany [i.e. Roman] script, not otherw[a]yes. The truse is certayne betwene the Cardinall and Hollanders for eight monthes. It is thought all wilbe pease in those parts. The Union, out of doubt, wilbe shortlie agreed uppon. The Bishopp of Gloster<sup>1</sup> shalbe of London, and R[obert] Abbots brother shalbe Bishop of Gloster, who is now Deane of Winchyster<sup>2</sup>. This newes little concernes; but heare at this time is no other; onlie the Angell...arived, and Master H[ewet] S[taper], who [in] 14 days [is] to be married.

*J. S. in London to Henry Lello at Constantinople*

30 April 1607 (f. 97 a)

...<sup>3</sup> John Field, they say, is alive, and married in England. Laffing Anthony<sup>4</sup> is gone for the East India. I have an adventure with him. God send him merrelie home.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Ravis, who was translated to London, as here indicated.

<sup>2</sup> George Abbot, who did not succeed Ravis, but became in rapid succession Bishop of Coventry (1609), Bishop of London (1610), and Archbishop of Canterbury (1611).

<sup>3</sup> In the first part of the letter Sanderson reminds his correspondent about the Chrysostom MS., 'which by two or three [of] your letters I perceived you had not onely laid weyght for thier in Grecia but also had procuerd frome the Patriarke of Alexa[n]dria and that you expected howerlie' its arrival. Should it come in time, Glover would pay its cost, on Sanderson's behalf.

<sup>4</sup> Anthony Marlow. He was engaged by the East India Company as a merchant in their Third Voyage and sailed aboard the *Hector* (under William Hawkins) in March 1607. An incomplete diary kept by him will be found in the British Museum (*Titus*, B viii, ff. 252-79). After the arrival of the vessel near Surat, Marlow and a number of his companions fell into the hands of the Portuguese, who took them to Goa and thence to Lisbon, where they were imprisoned for a considerable period. They seem to have been released at the end of 1610 or the beginning of 1611, through the good offices of the English ambassador at Madrid. Marlow's subsequent history is not known.

*The Same to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*

4 May 1607 (f. 97 b)

..Master Lillo hath not of late used you very kindlie. The most ill of his late writting is little credett to himselfe, for he hath manifested his malitiose hart, of which you knowe I have had mutch experience.... Concerning my treasurershippe, by the Companies order I tooke half a dolour of every kersie and half a doller of every 100*li.* of tin; half a doll[ar] of every 100 of coniskins; of every broadclothe 1½ dollour; of brassill, salsa, and all other merchandice half a dollare uppon the valewe of every 3*l.* starling. For this mony so levied I gave my particuler bills of exchange at 5*s.* 6*d.* per dollar uppon the treasurer of the Company in England, payable at tenne dayes after sight. This was onely for the goods brought in the Hector; so inacted in England to supplie the ampassiators present nead at the presents arivall which was sent in the said Hector. Further, by the said Companies order I was to receave consoledge as well as of the goods brought in the said shipp, as in any other shipp or shippes which was to arive in the port of Constantinople, Sio, or any part or port [?] of the Arches Aperago [*sic*] for my time of aboad; I say consoledge, as the same fell dewe, two per cento uppon the sailes, and two per cento uppon the imployments, as well of the goods that came of Englishmens in others as in our owne shipping. But for all the redie mony sent away to be imployd at Alepo or other places, nothing was due to be paid; but wheare it was disboursd, the consuls of Alepo, Cairo, Argier, etc, were to levie the same....

*The Same to The Same*

18 May 1607 (f. 99 a)

...I knowe Your Lordship of sufficient understandinge to decerne and axcept of your frends, and counsell you to be very warie to keepe them you have, espetially My Lord of Salsbury of the nobilitie; for be suer your enemise will assist Master Lillo and grace him as mutch as in them lieth unto His Lordshipp, for so some have said; and Master Eldred, I am tould, hath ordeyned him a house in London against his comming.... I am right

hartelie glad of Your Lordships prosperitie and effectuall proceeding in that busines of the Capitulations. The forastiers<sup>1</sup> will so force the fury of the French that yet I doubt you will not be suffered to rest. Yf you doe peasablie injoy that priviledge, the best of the Company may writt it downe for a most important, singuler, and unmatched pece of service.... Yf Master Lillo have underhand wrought of envie (as you writt) to crosse your proceedings, he will never be able to answeare it; but, Your Lordship being very wel assuerd therof, spare not to writt it againe and againe; as of his former dealing with Yancoline<sup>2</sup>.... It is said that he cometh overland by way of Ragusa.... I pray Your Lordship writt me a wourd what is become of Master Kittlie, my ould frend.... [PS.] Having this day received another copie of your letter of the 3 of March, with addition of the 18th dicto. The said I received at the hands of Master Huitt Staper, at whose mariadg I was uppon Tuesday last<sup>3</sup>. [PPS. 19 May]—Since yesterday... I had some conferrance with Master Leate, who shewed me your letter to the Company and alike one written frome Master Lillo to the said Company, a most vild invention.... He writteth that his contryes credett was never stayned in his time. Howe trewe itt is, you knowe the chefest Turks in Constantinople can testifie, and the chefest Jewes also; but for the Christian ambassidors, they no doubt toke him for an angell, by his excelent discourse in Italian.... I need not counsell Your Lordship that what you writt My Lord Sal[is]bury concerning Master Lillo apeare in no sort to be of mallice, but in defence of your fame and effectuall proceedinges....

<sup>1</sup> Foreigners (as on p. 210). Glover had succeeded in obtaining a renewal of the English privileges, in terms that brought not only the Dutch but all other Europeans (save the French and the Venetians) 'under the English banner'; and the French ambassador was much exasperated at this extension of his rival's power (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. v, f. 113). His bribes induced the Turkish ministers to endeavour to cancel the grant, on the plea that the extension was unwitting, but Glover refused to agree (ff. 137, 142). However, a despatch from Lord Salisbury, disapproving his action, induced him to leave the matter in abeyance (ff. 165, 212); and in October 1609 (vol. vi, f. 134) he reported that he had come to an agreement with the French ambassador that the English should not claim jurisdiction over any foreigners other than the Dutch.

<sup>2</sup> For whom see the Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Hewet Staper married Judith, daughter of Sir George Bowles (*London and Middlesex Notebook*, vol. 1, p. 266).

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*

18 August 1607 (f. 90 a)

Six or seven [letters] I have writt Your Lordship since your departure, some of which I hope ar come to your hands. By the purcer of the Little Exchange I received Your Lordships last, with the two combs, tothpicks, and shashe<sup>1</sup> you sent me. They fitt me well. I hartelye thanke Your Lordship for them. Heare-with I send a wourthy booke of the Genealogie of Our Saviour Christ, colected by a frend of mine, cauled Master Speed<sup>2</sup>. As yet they ar not published, but shalbe before it be longe. It is exelent and most trewe, frome Adam to Jesus Christ the Mesias. . . . The other little booke I send to the virtiouse lady your wife; beinge of an honorable ladiès translating out of French<sup>3</sup>. I hope to see the like of your ladie out of Italian or Greeke in time, for methinks I see hir most apt inclination to all good. . . .

*The Same to The Same*

27 August 1607 (f. 90 b)

...Of Master Lillowes departure to be frome thence [i.e. Constantinople] in June<sup>4</sup>, yesterday ther was advise. Nowe that foule foggie cloude being vanished, the wether is cleare at the vines of Pera; so that I make no doubt but Your Lordship will hearafter passe your time pleausurably. . . . Of the arivall heare of the Prince Yancolin, as also of a Turke who saithe he is a Mutaferaga [see p. 157] (his name Mustafa)<sup>5</sup> I am well assuerd you have advise, both frome Master Staper and others. Yet I cannot but inlardge a littell of the Turke, who I take to be some garboliousse felowe of Mounsure d' Brevis<sup>6</sup> his frends; yet heare speaketh he alto-

<sup>1</sup> A 'shash' was a turban-cloth (the 'striped towell' of p. 233).

<sup>2</sup> This is *The Genealogies recorded in the Sacred Scriptures*, written by the historian and cartographer, John Speed. The first edition bears no date, but is ascribed to 1611. The work became extraordinarily popular, and by 1640 thirty-four editions had been issued.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *The Pastoralles of Julietta* (a translation from the French), which was registered at Stationers' Hall on 2 April, 1607 (Arber's *Transcripts*, vol. III, p. 151).

<sup>4</sup> Lello left on 24 May (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. v, f. 169).

<sup>5</sup> See the Introduction for both these individuals.

<sup>6</sup> See note on page 61.

gether against him and the French, emongst whome he hath bine thes two years past. He audatiously requiered to be receaved as an ambassiator frome the Great Turke; wherin, it may be, his master will thinke himselfe dishonord, for that his greatnes hath not formerlie bine accustomed to send ambassiators to any prince or potentate of the wourld, except to magnifie himselfe. But yf nowe he be sent ambassiator, he little credetts his master by lieng at the Companies charge. The Kinge, I make accompt, will admitt him his presence to heare his trewe or falce message; and the Gr[ea]t Turk peradventure will geve him due rewaurd at his retorne. In my opinion it is a deadly sport to mocke great princies; for what thoughe he have a letter frome the Turke, it shewes in my conceipt a mockery and meere knacke of knavery in delivering the same *tam tardi*, to repaire the bringers baggery [beggary ?]. This jolly Mustafa, it semeth, is very discontent for that as yet he cannott be admitted the Kings presence; saing that he came frome the King of the Wourld. But one answered that his king was not King of England. He hath sent three of his folowers backe; wherin he shewes his weakenes, to disperce his attendants before he have had audience. His braggs ar gr[ea]t; as that he hath bine sent ambassiator three times formerly unto Fraunce, and five times to the Signoria of Venis; to Persia, Tartaria, and the Pole. All which I scarcely believe. But surelie he is a stalkie<sup>1</sup> personable felowe; and it is liklie that the King will in some sort grace him, because he is a Turke. The wourst is hee waunts an interpreter. So mutch of my opinion concerning him. Nowe for the Christ[i]an prince befromed, I wish all good and kind welcome of His Magistie; wherof he cannott faile, yf his frends be fervent for him. . . . [PS.] When I have spoken with Master Lillo, I will writt Your Lordship further concerning the tinne. My Ladie Glover<sup>2</sup> and all hir childerin ar in good health. Yore cosen at Oxford was with my brother of late; he is a gentillman of very good government, and is thought wilbee a scollor.

<sup>1</sup> Tall and slender, like a stalk.

<sup>2</sup> The widow of Sir William Glover, cousin of the ambassador. Her son William matriculated at Balliol in July 1606, and became a student at Gray's Inn three years later. He was M.P. for Oxford in 1624-25. (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, s.n.)

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*8 September 1607 (*f.* 100 *b*)

...Althoughe I knowe that divers Your Lordships frends heare, as Sir T. Lowe<sup>1</sup> (the Governore), Master Stapers, Master Leat, and others, will writt you the news which mutch may import, and espetially Master Jonas Aldrige enlardg concerning the Turks gracement with the King, etc., to whose [report] I refer, yet, in respect of the auntient love I have alwayes borne you, I will impart my counsell concerning your good and estate; which is, that you respect the pretiousenes of the time you presentlie ar in. For I see a great alteration, and the trade for most part to that port of Constantinople, which must needs be very gainefull to you. Nowe looke to your harvist and be provident, for every yeare will not be alike. Take oportunitie and build for a certeynetie. Lett no shipp come or goe without some adventure of yours, great or smaule; which (by my counsell) consigne to Master Stapers or his sonns heare in England; in this make election of no newe frends, for ould ar alwayes the trewe frends. P[aul] P[indar] hath also a good time in Alepo<sup>2</sup>. The trade is plied at present; howe profitable, hereafter wilbe proved. James Heywood is arived latelie, and saith that Master Lillo was said to be at Venis. Report also heare is that he hath shipped 11 bails of silke for his owne accompt; which yf so, besides what he is thought to have (for by E. Abbott he lost not), then is he riche. Yf you cleare not 1500*li.* or 2[000] per annum, it wil not come neare him, whose means hath bine nothing comparable to yours at present....

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Lowe, Governor of the Levant Company from 1605 until his death on 11 April, 1623. He was a prominent London merchant, an alderman from 1594, sheriff in 1595-6, and lord mayor in 1604-05. His knighthood was conferred in July 1603. He was seven times Master of the Haberdashers' Company, and he represented London in Parliament for many yeares (Beaven, vol. II, p. 45).

<sup>2</sup> To which place he had been sent as consul in 1606 (*S.P., Foreign*, vol. CX, p. 1).

*John Kitley<sup>1</sup> at Constantinople to J. S. in London*

— November 1607 (f. 186 a)

...Send me Wilsons Lodgicke<sup>2</sup>. I pray you lett us heare whether the foggie cloud<sup>3</sup> be blowen into Ingland; what his effects be in every respect; and what will become of him.... He or some of his complices have calumniated His Lordshipp [i.e. Glover] of bigami; whome I dare be swourne had never any such thought, for he hath shewed thes evident arguments of godlines and chastitie. As sone as he could convenientlie find a husband, he married the woman; and by the first fittinge oportunitie he sent the boy into Germany, and the girle is dead. So that she, beinge thus freed and welbestowed, is warned never to come nere the house; and hearin, I hope, he hath geven the wourld satisfaction. His Lordship hath bine most maliciouslie wronged, havinge, in the time of the presents delivery, caried himselfe with a hautie coradge, full of undaunted magnanimitie, which many motlie judgments termed prodigalitie; not perceavinge that the end whearunto that behavioure and bravery aimed was to hit the Grand Signor in his youthfull humore; which Fog [i.e. Lello], the chefe of that crewe, utterly misliked, and counseled ther should not be so many men with fethers; and others his associates said ther was to[o] much gould lace. 'I' [i.e. aye], quoth Fogg, 'it were better to deliver it in civill manner'; as yourselfe knoweth hee did; who satt uppon his horse with a ruddie [i.e. red with blushing] downe looke, as though he had bine streyninge at a close-stoole; and when he came before the Grand Signor, stoode with his hands handsomelie before him, like a modest midwife, and began a trembling spech in Englishe, as you knowe sounding like the squekinge of a goose devided into semiquavers; which was so disgratiouse that, had it not bine for

<sup>1</sup> The name is spelt here as 'Keytley,' and its owner is described as 'the ambassadors phesition.' In a letter to the Levant Company of 25 March, 1601 (Brit. Mus. *Nero B* xi, f. 113 a), Lello spoke strongly of the value of his services and recommended his engagement as doctor to the English colony.

<sup>2</sup> *The Rule of Reason, conteinyng the Arte of Logique set forth in Englishe*, by Thomas Wilson, 1551. It became very popular and ran through several editions.

<sup>3</sup> Lello is evidently intended (cf. Sanderson's letter of 27 Aug. 1607).

respect of Hir Magestie, he had bine deprived of all the Grand Signor his graces<sup>1</sup>. Whose behaviour His Lordship havinge cauled to mind, and withall prudentlie observed the nature of this young prince, whose vesturs ar ever very rich and his turbant besett with pinatichies<sup>2</sup> richlie innield; therfore, contrary to the adverse opinion of Fogg and his fellowes, His Lordship resolved to doble the Gould lace, and to many of the fethers added riche juells; which shewe, well sesoned with his owne gesture and oration, toke such an affectionate impression in the Grand Signor that he comanded [?] to favour him in whatsoever he requiered; who then performed, and doth still, his busines accordinge to his harts desiere. Nowe all this bravery is tourned into good husbandrye and frugalitie, wherin he also exedeth all his predecessors; and yet, when time and occasion is presented, no one more royall in expences, nor in aparrell more somptiouse, nor in ceremonies more copious; no one ever so gratiouse in this Port for obteyninge of favours, nor ever wilbe more magnanimouse in defendinge of injuries. And thes thinges, thus moderated, I thinke ar great virtues....

*Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople to J. S.  
in London*

— December 1607 (f. 205 b)<sup>3</sup>

I hope ere this our good frend the Prince Jancolo hath obteyned his sute of our kinge, and I doe longe to heare the issue etc. I doubt not but Mustafa Aga his counterfett ambassie is alredy at an end; for which at his arivall heare, as I thinke, [he] shall have that reward as he shall goe very neere to lose his head, for so much the Vizereie hath assuured me of. And trewly I doe greatly mervaile of his so good interteynement in Ingland, beinge of longe time

<sup>1</sup> For Lello's own account of his reception by the Sultan see his letter of 21 Oct. 1599, printed in *Early Voyages*, p. xii; also *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. ix, p. xlv.

<sup>2</sup> Ital. *pennacchio*, a plume of feathers.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to Glover's despatches to Salisbury in *S.P., Turkey*, vols. v and vi, students of the period should note a series of letters from him to the Levant Company, April 1607 to Oct. 1609, in *S.P., Foreign*, vol. cix; also the earlier collection (1600-07) in the British Museum (*Nero B xi*, ff. 94-113, 140-152).



notise geven by myselfe and others, both unto My Lord of Salisbury and the Company, what manner of man he was and to what end his imployment intended, both for Fraunce and England. And yf the Company be at those chargis as I understand, lett them even thanke Master Lillo, by whose necligence this ambassade was permitted. Newes is that Siampolat Ogli, Bassa of Aleppo, by Morat Bassa (who was sent generall against the Persians) hath had an overthrowe<sup>1</sup>. All his seimens<sup>2</sup>, beinge to the nomber of 12 thowsand, were put to [the] swourd; but he himselfe with all his horsemen, beinge 24,000, retiered towards the mountaynes, and ther amongst his Chirakes<sup>3</sup> begins to gather a head, with purpose to incounter the said Moratt againe. This Muratt hath entered Aleppo; but the castell therof, beinge throughely founished with munition and soldiers, stands as yett upon thier defence, in hope that Giampolatt will come againe, ere [it] be longe, to succore the same. . . . Heare is another rebell, by name Calender Ogli. He hath besedged Angorye<sup>4</sup>; and hath bine batteringe the same thes 15 dayes, and it is doubted much he hath alredeye acquisted [i.e. taken] the same; which yf it be trewe, the next progresse he will make (as he himselfe geveth out) wilbe eyther to Scudery [Scutari] or Bursia [Brusa]. He is 10,000 man stronge. And therefore, to prevent the same, the Grand Signor hath sent the third viseroye of the bench, by name Assan Bassa Nakashezi<sup>5</sup>, with some 3 or 4000 janesarries for the

<sup>1</sup> Jambolat-oghlu, a Kurd chieftain, who had possessed himself of part of Syria, was decisively defeated by Murād Pasha. He managed to make his peace with the Porte and died in Turkish service (Von Hammer, vol. II, pp. 705-10; Sandys, p. 12).

<sup>2</sup> This is the vulgar pronunciation of *segbān*. The original meaning was 'hound-keeper,' but the term was extended to the Sultan's huntsmen in general, who were probably used at times as light troops. A further development led to a *segbān* corps of the janisaries. Here the meaning seems to be foot-soldiers of all sorts.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Circassians are meant.

<sup>4</sup> Qalandar-oghlu, another rebel, besieged Angora but retired without taking it (Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 706).

<sup>5</sup> Hasan Naqqash Pasha, who later defeated Qalandar-oghlu near Lake Minas (Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 709). Lello says of him (Brit. Mus. *Nero B* xi, f. 238 b): 'Naccash Assan, one [who?] indeede was painter [*naqqash*] to this mans father and now had maryed this mans ante, was apointed as a deputy vizrey untill he should thinke of one that shoulde be cheefe vizroy.' In another letter (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. v, f. 98) Lello explained similarly that the name meant 'Hassan Basha the paynter, for that they are never ashamed of there former profession, be they never soe base.'

gaurd of the said Bursia; and a very strict proclamation is made heare that all those spahies and janisaries (that ar not corugiers [see p. 53]), with all others, whatsoever they be, that hath the Grand Signor his pay, uppon paine of thier lives presently to re-paire thether. So that the said Bassa parted hence the 5th of this present. We understand that in Poland be great rumors [i.e. tumults], and that the contry is devided in four parts, each part striving for the kingdome: the Pallatinus Kiyowiensis<sup>1</sup>, for his part, beinge of the Russian religion: then Palatinus Viliensis<sup>2</sup>, beinge a Protistant, with all his Protistants: then one Gabriell Bathori<sup>3</sup>, who is nephu of Stefano Bathori<sup>4</sup>, late kinge of Poland, with the helpe of Transilvanians, Wallakes, and Bugdans [Moldavians] (havinge sent also for aid, both to the Grand Signor and Tartar Chan, who is alredie gone with 40,000 men to enter the dominion of Poland), and the kinge that is nowe, with the helpe of the House of Austria: ar all in armes. Howbeit, thes [i.e. the Turks] doe not a littell rejoyse of this discord of Christians, beinge a signe as yet (they say) of thier longer continewance then they thought....*PS.*—Even this hower newes ar brought that Calender Ogli hath burnt and put to sacke the rich towne of Bursia<sup>5</sup>, puttinge to [the] swourd both men, women, and children; which enterprize hath wrought great uprores and tumults in this citie; dayly sendinge all the forcis they can make over to Scuderie, for feare the rebells next progresse shalbe there, as in all mens judgments it is thought no otherwise. And by my next of the event hearof I will not faile to certifie.

<sup>1</sup> The province of Kieff then formed part of Poland.

<sup>2</sup> The province of Vilna.

<sup>3</sup> Gabor or Gabriel Bathory, elected Prince of Transylvania in 1608 and murdered five years later. For the disturbances mentioned above see *S.P., Turkey*, vol. v, f. 249.

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Bathory was King of Poland from 1578 to 1586.

<sup>5</sup> On 5 December, 1607 (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. v, f. 249).

*J. S. in London to Martin Calthorpe in Norfolk*1 February 1608 (f. 263 a)<sup>1</sup>

...This somer I am half determined to see Yorke and Lincolne-shir; yet not resolutly resolved; but howsoever not this next, yet the next after.... I will not faile but see you and both Master Kemps....

*The Same to John Kitely at Constantinople*

20 February 1608 (f. 186 b)

...What in your last is concerning the late ambassiator, Sir H. Lello, I perceave, and do impute worthelie faulte in him.... I will a little streyve to correspond with your desier, in shewing the manner of his heare interteynement. His first entry was to Master Eldreds port, where he yet is, and so hath agreed for a time to remaine, paing by the yeare for himselfe and two servants. Littell countenanced of the Company at first, nether yet satisfied to his desier.... Bid him [i.e. Glover] be valiant in hart. ... His frends of the Company doe increase; but divers do faile Sir H., because (I thinke) they doe not tast his knightshipp. At first recept of the Grand Signors letters, the Kings Magistie shewed no countenance, nether gave him a wound for his welcome into England; but, however, afterward he procuered frendshipp to be heard in a message he brought frome Savoy, and two sondry times was with His Magestie. Himselfe tould it me, and that he was to goe againe the day after; which he did, and was knighted<sup>2</sup>. I nowe and then talke with him one the Exchange. ... Well suer I am, to me he hath bine trewe in nothinge except my hinderance to the uttermost of his power.... He sathe (and that in company) howe I was the onelie cause of Master Glovers preferment.... and that I was the principall also in advising him howe to attayne the place of secretarie.... You writt me for

<sup>1</sup> This and the succeeding letters to the same person are largely taken up with details of a lawsuit between him and members of the Gore family. Martin Calthorpe, of Hickling Hall, was the son of Sanderson's old master. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Heath (Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vol. ix, p. 305).

<sup>2</sup> On 21 January, 1608 (Shaw's *Knights*, vol. II, p. 144).

Wilsons Loggwicke. I have sent it, bound with his Rethorique, a booke of little vallew<sup>1</sup>; none to be found newe... The noyes in my lefte eare is all one. Some wind it is that I thinke will, whilst I live, remaine in myne ears. God His wil be done. It is nowe with me five or six yeare ould; for at my retourne frome Jerusalem, havinge taken phisique of a Jewe cauled Juda Affamata, an exelent phesition of Damasco, he gave me his drugs and purge to Tripolie, with order howe to take them; which I performed. Frome my bodie came violentlie all thinne water, and ever since I have heard this ringing, little or much, continually in my ears... The late ambasiator farr exceded my expectation in profiting ther. Nay, his servant Sharps wourth at least 1000*li.*; Tom the butler 500*li.* And yet (as he said to me) B[arton] was most neare him; whose estate I marvaile to be so meane. Indeed, he was a simple, honest, to[o] good a felowe to be ether getter or saver. Master Sharpie is presentlie bonde chefe comaunder to the East Indies, having put in a stocke with the marchants and hath great allowance of wagis, besides his charges. Sir Henry Lello also an adventurer ther<sup>2</sup>... Of divers formerlie, and nowe of late, I have heard bad reports of the ambas[iat]ors crueltie; as that he should geve one of his servants many bastinadoes one the feet and then imprison him, and uppon the blowes he died<sup>3</sup>. God forbid ther should be any such matter; Inglishmen ar tenderfooted. And further that he should beate, breake the head of, and hurt in divers places one Roberts, who is alied to him<sup>4</sup>. This

<sup>1</sup> For the book on logic see p. 242*n*. The other one mentioned was Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* (1554).

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Sharpie was engaged in Jan. 1608 as commander of the East India Company's Fourth Voyage, at a salary of 10*l.* per month, and a gratuity of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for outfit expenses. He was allowed to subscribe 100*l.* in that particular voyage, and offered to adventure 200*l.* in the general stock (*Cal. S.P., East Indies, 1513-1616*, p. 165). Sir Henry Lello adventured 137*l.* 10*s.* in the same Voyage, and was admitted as a freeman on 6 Feb. 1608 (*ibid.*, p. 167). Sharpie died in the East about 1613 (*Journal of John Jourdain*, p. 241*n*).

<sup>3</sup> In a letter from Biddulph of 14 July, 1607 (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. v, f. 180), it is stated that George Coxden, master of the household, having spoken evil of the ambassador, was bastinadoed, Glover himself helping to belabour him. William Strachey (*ibid.*, f. 187) accused John Kitley of having poisoned Coxden during his subsequent imprisonment, but Glover retorted by producing a certificate that the latter was still alive (ff. 187, 189).

<sup>4</sup> John Roberts (as appears from f. 131 of *S.P., Turkey*, vol. v, f. 131).

littell Roberts, who was at Constantinople in my time, tould me one the Exchange, not 14 dayes since; and that the woman who came frome thence was that day to dine at My Lady Glovers. She (as some say) reported he stroke his wife; and of hir owne usadge tels many obsurdities, which I no whitt beleve. And it is said also that one of the maids which went over was gott with child. This is the generall report; howe trew (all or some) God knowes. Lett His Lordship have the perusing of this my letter....

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*

21 February 1608 (f. 101 a)

...Your predecessors arivall caused me to stay (and yet doe) to parlie with him effectually. Many frivoluse communications, not wourth the writting of, we have had together. I tarry his laysure and expect the end of his proceeding.... This newe knight doth blunder and bussill.... Suer I am he setts his teeth on edge at us both.... [PS.] R[obert] B[arton] oweth to John Sanderson 4*li*. Of what else behoveth I will advise when Sir Harry Lello and I have concluded....

*The Same to The Same*

22 February 1608 (f. 101 b)

Thes ar to intreat Your Lordship to deliver to Master Kitelie the booke sent hearwith. It is of smaule valewe, though nowadayes not any of them printed. The book wittie and prittie, bothe rethorique and lodgwick. I wish he had writt me for some of greater price.... I expect the laysure of Sir H. Lello for conclusion of R. B.... Lett not any honore done to Master Lillo dismay you, for all is nothinge. Proceed you cherefully.... Doubt not of welth to your desier. You ar in the waye of great gaining. ... Master G[eorge] Salter is dead of a fitt of the stone. Ould G[eorge] Hanger, not a moneth after I had concluded with him for his sonns misdemeanour, also departed this life. His grefe was a shute [i.e. suit] of 50*li*. matter which he was convicted of in the Guilde Hale by lawe one the Thursday; one the Mondaye dead. Thus we have dayly experience what effects of fury. It is

said his sonn, that was my troublesome servant, hath, or shall have, by his fathers death 100*li.* per yeare and 1000*li.* in mony; and that nowe he is an exelent good husband; but was in Spaine when his father died, and not yet come home. My Lady G[lover] and all your cosens well; but an nayghebour of thiers lately dead of the plague, as is thought. . . . Yet nowe not one hath died of the plague thes three weekes in all this cittie<sup>1</sup>. . . . Another extreame plague hath bine (for the poore people espetially, who waunted fuell) a coold (I say frost); not the like seene thes 100 years all England over. The Thames frozen a longe time together<sup>2</sup>. . . .

*The Same to John Kitely at Constantinople*

22 February 1608 (f. 189 a)

... When you may by some shipp conveniently send to me againe, lett it be a Tripolie sadd sattin scullcapp, to weare adayes under my hatt, an ordenary striped head towell, of two or three dollars, and some tartugle tothpicks of the ordinary sort. . . . Master Lillo, when he was at Constantinople, writt me that he would send a Turkie carpett, in recompence of my horse he rann to death [see p. 14]; but since his comming, nether befor, hath he ever presented me with the valewe of two pinns. God blesse me frome bussards<sup>3</sup> and ungrateful persons.

*Memorandum*

(f. 189 a)<sup>4</sup>

The 13th of December 1600 the Vizier sent Master Lillo wourd frome the duan by his interpreter Jacomo that he was a chaphier<sup>5</sup>, that is, wourse then knave, and bad him depart the contry. He had before rebuffed him to his face, caulinge him dely<sup>6</sup>, that is, fantastical foole, and said he would writt Hir Magestie what he was, and that the Queene knewe not what an insufficient

<sup>1</sup> Many references to the prevalence of plague in London at this time will be found in *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. xi.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, nos. 148, 175; Birch, vol. i, pp. 70, 71; and Stow's *Annales*, p. 892.

<sup>3</sup> Worthless or stupid persons.

<sup>4</sup> This follows the letter to Kitely of 22 Feb. 1608. Presumably Sanderson had the information from Glover.

<sup>5</sup> *Kafir*, an infidel.

<sup>6</sup> *Deli*, a madman.

swine the marchants had placed at Constantinople; willinge Thomas Glover that, when occation of busines was, he should come and informe him; for, said he, this ganchier<sup>1</sup> (hogge) is not capable of any reason. Also onse he sent Steven Townerowe<sup>2</sup> to the Bailo of Venis to knowe his laysure, that he might goe and visitt him. The Bailo<sup>3</sup> sent wound by the said Steven Townerowe that he might save his laboure, and [if] any busines weare, he desiered him to send his secretary.

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*  
9 March 1608 (f. 102 a)

...Master Lillo (Sir Ha[rry], I shold say) and I have had some conferance together. As yet I knowe not what to make of his meaning. He grudges still at Your Lordship.... To me he seemeth very kind nowe of late.... It was thought that Spaine and the Lowe Contryes stood uppon a conclusion finall; but, by somewhat that hath bine written frome thence of late, may be gatherd they can never agree; for the Flemings will not lose thier trad to the Indies. So that out of questione ther wilbe no peace. News other at this time not any, but that the Florentine florisheth with his injuries over us as yet. What wilbe the issue God knoweth....

*The Same to James Higgons at Venice*  
25 March 1608 (f. 190 a)

Longe since I writt you by an English gentillman, by name Master Robert Kempe, and sent order uppon Nicasio d'Beverenco to be recovered an ould debt of mony I lent him out of my purse<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Khanzir*, swine. The incident is referred to in *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. ix, no. 950. It was the result of the strained relations subsisting between Lello and Häfiz Ahmad Pasha.

<sup>2</sup> Townrow is mentioned by Lello as having been sent to him by the Levant Company (Brit. Mus. *Nero B xi*, ff. 109 a, 113 a).

<sup>3</sup> The usual title of the Venetian ambassador—in this case, apparently, Agostino Nano (Sept. 1600–Nov. 1603). As a rule he seems to have been on good terms with his English colleague.

<sup>4</sup> In a letter of the same date to Jonas Aldrich (f. 190 b), Sanderson says that the debt was one of 150 sequins, lent 'above 11 years since.' It is often referred to in the earlier correspondence. He also alludes in the same letter to Robert Kemp as 'a Northfolk gentillman' (see p. 95 n).

...Nowe my earnest request is onse more unto you to doe me some favoure, yf you can, according to that my former order... Yf I spend 500 crownes more, by Gods grace I hope to recover that he hath so long ought me; for yf all my frends faile me in it, myselfe may sodenly and unawares be with him ther....

*The Same to Martin Calthorpe in Norfolk*

24 May 1608 (f. 262 b)

...My 700*l.* debtor, Master G[iles] Simpson, sodenly died the Soday morning. I have securitytie by a forfeited lease, which nowe I am in saile of<sup>1</sup>. Sir Thomas Peyton ended with him half a yeare since, and hath received first payment of Marchham Meads. Sir Samwell Peyton, his son, was knighted about 25 days since in the Kings chamber<sup>2</sup>. It is thought he is married to Sir Walter Ashedens daughter, and nowe gone over, by waye of Fraunce, to travaile for a while; so beinge his father-in-lawes will, to whose direction Sir Thomas Peyton hathe committed him....

*The Same to The Same*

1 July 1608 (f. 261 b)

...Other for newes is that the famouse merchaunt, Master R. Staper, yesternight at seven a clocke sodainely departed this mortall life, without other wourds then that he was not very well<sup>3</sup>....

<sup>1</sup> The loan, which was of 650*l.*, was secured on property in Kent. This Sanderson sold for 900*l.*, and after taking out his principal and interest, he made over the remaining 225*l.* to Simpson's widow. 'And a supper at the Windmill taverne I bestowed one hir and [seven other persons]. It cost me onely 17*s.* 6*d.*' (f. 9 b).

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Peyton was knighted 15 May, 1608. Later (29 June, 1611) he was created a baronet. He married ('about 1610') Mary, second daughter and coheir of Sir Roger Aston, Master of the Wardrobe to James I. (G. E. C.'s *Complete Baronetage*, vol. 1, p. 70.)

<sup>3</sup> 'Staples, one of our great merchants, died the last week very suddenly, as he was sitting down to supper' (letter of 7 July, 1608, in Birch, vol. 1, p. 76). On Staper's tomb in St Helen's, Bishopsgate, the date of his death is given as 'the last of June 1608.' He had long occupied a prominent position in the Levant and East India Companies, but had not sought civic honours. It is true that he had been elected an alderman in 1594, but he paid the customary fine and was thereupon discharged.



*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*  
6 July 1608 (f. 102 b)

...Nether you nor your predecessor have or can gaine by such straing, rash, and most unadvised proceadings; for be well asuerd the deminishing of him in his finishing with the Company wilbe no better then a dish of sower grapes to sett your teth on edge when your time is expiered and [you] may peradventure be allotted in some sort to stand to thier carving. Have respect to yourselfe, and regard my counsell. Agravate no more against Sir H. Lillo, but assist yf you may... Of late we have not any [news] wourth the noteinge... but onely that most trew it is a rich mine of silver is found in Scotland<sup>1</sup>; and heare at present a feare of scarcitie of coarne<sup>2</sup>, yet assueredly, in many mens judgment, without just cause....Newes it is for me to heare that you should writt for Master May, that factiouse man and pevish humorest... Commend me to Master Kitelye. I am tould also that he is determynd to mary with a Siot widowe. God send him better love and lucke then Consul Osborne. I doubt he purposeth not to bringe his wife for England; so that I misse of my desier, which was to have seene him heare... Mounsure Paule Pinder, consull of Aleppo, wilbe rich, yf God prosper [him]; for he shoffels lustely and standith out for one Mathew Fowle (as he reporteth) 20,000 dollars (I say xxm dollars). Be you wary, and make use of him for your profitt, as occation shalbe ministred. Harken to no fantastical Puritan counsell, for they ar tratorouse knaves, desembling wretches, asses and patches [i.e. boobies]. Yf Master Moris Abbott offer you kindnes in any thinge that may conserne you of the Compan[ies], axcept it; and be suer to hould fast Master Leat. For those two doe now lead all the Company, espetially Master Ab[bott]. The Governor his wourds ar of little weyght emongest them, and Huett Staper nothinge at all...

<sup>1</sup> See *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. XI, nos. 135, 181, 204, 216, 323.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 275, 285.

*Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople to J. S. in London*17 August 1608 (*f.* 296 b)

...I am overburdened with [a] seriouse and a very tedious busines, earnestly recommended unto me by His Magesties owne letter, the Queenes, the Earle of Salisburies, and many of the Honorable Privie Counsellis, and others His Magesties favorites, in the behalfe of the Prince of Muldavia, concerninge his restitution into that principallitie, his hereditary patrimony; which ere longe, by Gods helpe, I hope to bringe the same unto a desired issue, though the foggie knight hath approved in Inglande of great unlikelyhood and improbabilitie. And nowe, by Gods holy assistance and my diligent indevours, I have brought it to such probabilitie, as at the delivery of His Magesties letter unto the Grand Signor with my owne hands, accompaning it with a congratulatory spech in His Highenes name, the Grand Signor hath faythfully promised to graunte the same, for His Magesties sake, when time shall serve (which, quoth he, wilbe ere longe), unto none else but unto him. So that, havinge this expresse promise, I am in better hope then ever to invest him in his patrimony.... The Empirors great ambassiator, cauled Adamus fon Hermiston<sup>1</sup>, with a trayne of 200 men and the present unto the Grand Signor of 200 thousand dollars in redy mony, is heere dayly expected and (as we heare) is alreddie arived in Andranoplie. The Prince of Transilvania his great ambassiator, with a retenewe of 140 men, is alreddie arived heere. His name is Gabriell Bethlehem<sup>2</sup> (beinge one of his principall counselours), and hath alreddie kissed the Grand Signors hand. His present was but 7 great silver cupps gilded, valued at dollars 1000. So that the Grand Signor, concluding peace with thes, shall with more facilitie be able to vanquish the rebells of Natolia [i.e. Anatolia], against whome he hath at this present sent a generall cauled Emekezi Ogli<sup>3</sup>, with a number (by computation) of 300 thowsand

<sup>1</sup> Adam von Herberstein (Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 720). He reached Constantinople on 23 August (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. VI, f. 55).

<sup>2</sup> Gabriel Bathory (*ante*, p. 245). For his mission see Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 721. He arrived on 20 July (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. VI, f. 49).

<sup>3</sup> Etmekji-oghlu or Etmekji-zadé, Beylerbey of Roumelia (Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 717).

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*  
6 July 1608 (*f.* 102 *b*)

...Nether you nor your predecessor have or can gaine by such straing, rash, and most unadvised proceadings; for be well asuerd the deminishing of him in his finishing with the Company wilbe no better then a dish of sower grapes to sett your teth on edge when your time is expiered and [you] may peradventure be allotted in some sort to stand to thier carving. Have respect to yourselfe, and regard my counsell. Agravate no more against Sir H. Lillo, but assist yf you may.... Of late we have not any [news] wourth the noteinge... but onely that most trew it is a rich mine of silver is found in Scotland<sup>1</sup>; and heare at present a feare of scarsitie of coarne<sup>2</sup>, yet assueredly, in many mens judgment, without just cause.... Newes it is for me to heare that you should writt for Master May, that factiouse man and pevish humorest.... Commend me to Master Kitleye. I am tould also that he is determynd to mary with a Siot widowe. God send him better love and lucke then Consul Osborne. I doubt he purposeth not to bringe his wife for England; so that I misse of my desier, which was to have seene him heare.... Mounsure Paule Pinder, consull of Aleppo, wilbe rich, yf God prosper [him]; for he shoffels lustely and standith out for one Mathew Fowle (as he reporteth) 20,000 dollars (I say xxm dollars). Be you wary, and make use of him for your profit, as occation shalbe ministred. Harken to no fantastical Puritan counsell, for they ar tratorouse knaves, desembling wretches, asses and patches [i.e. boobies]. Yf Master Moris Abbott offer you kindnes in any thinge that may conserne you of the Compan[ies], axcept it; and be suer to hould fast Master Leat. For those two doe now lead all the Company, espetially Master Ab[bott]. The Governor his wourds ar of little weyght emongest them, and Huett Staper nothinge at all....

<sup>1</sup> See *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. XI, nos. 135, 181, 204, 216, 323.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 275, 285.

*Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople to J. S. in London*17 August 1608 (*f.* 296 b)

...I am overburdened with [a] seriouse and a very tedious busines, earnestly recommended unto me by His Magesties owne letter, the Queenes, the Earle of Salisburies, and many of the Honorable Privie Counsell, and others His Magesties favorites, in the behalfe of the Prince of Muldavia, concerninge his restitution into that principalitie, his hereditary patrimony; which ere longe, by Gods helpe, I hope to bringe the same unto a desired issue, though the foggie knight hath approved in Inglande of great unlikelyhood and improbabilitie. And nowe, by Gods holy assistance and my diligent indevours, I have brought it to such probabilitie, as at the delivery of His Magesties letter unto the Grand Signor with my owne hands, accompaning it with a congratulatory spech in His Highenes name, the Grand Signor hath faythfully promised to graunte the same, for His Magesties sake, when time shall serve (which, quoth he, wilbe ere longe), unto none else but unto him. So that, havinge this expresse promise, I am in better hope then ever to invest him in his patrimony.... The Empirors great ambassiator, cauled Adamus fon Hermiston<sup>1</sup>, with a trayne of 200 men and the present unto the Grand Signor of 200 thousand dollars in redy mony, is heere dayly expected and (as we heare) is alreddie arived in Andranoplie. The Prince of Transilvania his great ambassiator, with a retenewe of 140 men, is alreddie arived heere. His name is Gabriell Bethlehem<sup>2</sup> (beinge one of his principall counselours), and hath alreddie kissed the Grand Signors hand. His present was but 7 great silver cupps gilded, valued at dollars 1000. So that the Grand Signor, concluding peace with thes, shall with more facilitie be able to vanquish the rebells of Natolia [i.e. Anatolia], against whome he hath at this present sent a generall cauled Emekezi Ogli<sup>3</sup>, with a number (by computation) of 300 thowsand

<sup>1</sup> Adam von Herberstein (Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 720). He reached Constantinople on 23 August (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. VI, f. 55).

<sup>2</sup> Gabriel Bathory (*ante*, p. 245). For his mission see Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 721. He arrived on 20 July (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. VI, f. 49).

<sup>3</sup> Etmekji-oghlu or Etmekji-zadé, Beylerbey of Roumelia (Von Hammer, vol. II, p. 717).

men. As also the generall against the Persians, Murat Bassa, is also departed Alepo, and retornith hetherwaurd, leadinge with him 150 thowsand approved soldiers, and is to assault the said rebell one the other side; who thus invironed, yf by some slight he escape not amongst the mountaynes and woods, it is thought at this time wilbe suer vanquished; for it is impossible he should resist so hudge an armie of the Grand Signors, espetially that under the conducte of Moratt, a very expert generall. Which rebels beinge onse overthrowne, I doubt not but all merchaunts traficants into thes parts shall have great tranquillitie and no lesse benefitte, and espetially our English merchaunts....

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*

20 August 1608 (*f. 190 b*)

...That important matter I make no doubt but you have answered to the Company according to right and just relation—I meane concerning the 150,000 aspers geven for the Morea com[mandmen]t. It was a gift, as Sir H. Lello protesteth, and not in any part or portion of allowance for pention. Another matter I touched concerning Master May, greatly mervailinge how you were incensed to writt for him...for some have lamentable experience of Puritan cariadge...Be affable, humble, and meke in your highe place; all heare report the contrary of you, some saing that your humore is so daingrouse and cariadge so hautie that they nether dare writt, deliver you what written by others, nor speake to you. And what indiscreation may Your Lordship be justly condemned of, that since Sir H. Lillos departure you never have voutch[s]afed to visitt the French ambas[iat]or. No privatt grudge ought refraine you for complimenting with him. Your judgment wilbe sensured in not so doing. You must thinke that since Master Stapers decease your frends increase not...Be advised; consider the effect; and take my meaning alwayes good for you...Beware of Prince Yancolo. Ingadge yourselfe ther for no prince...I asked Sir Harry Lello for the picture I left in his charg at Galata, who answeareth me that he left it with you. I am very glad to heare that you grow riche; 10,000 dol[lars] Xn. [*sic*] is well for consoldge of those parts in so short time; nay, some reports it to be much more....

*The Same to Martin Calthorpe in Norfolk*

28 October 1608 (f. 261 a)

...I may see Northfolke after the next harvist, wher peradventure I will winter with you (my busines fauling out to my mind). The plaig is not great—100 and od is nothing in so populus a citie as this is. The dearth of bread indifferent; at doble the accustomed price we paye for corne; and dearer we thinke it will not be. Newes heare is not any wourth the writtinge, but that widowes of welth do dayly faule and ar taken up before they come to ground; as the Ladye Deane lately married<sup>1</sup>; and Pinders of the Miter etc.; the Ladye Goderd, widowe of the Alderman Warthowe<sup>2</sup>; ould Master Chamberlaines w[ife], who sometime was Rowland the silkemans wife; and Harvie the costomer<sup>3</sup> hath lefte a rich one; also Skoggs the marchaunt, who this day is buried. I looke not after any, better likinge a free single life then with more welth to be subjected to woomans humors; but yet, yf that purgatory be appoynted for my soules purgation, I shall in time be redye to imbrace my destanye....

*The Same to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*

1 November 1608 (f. 192 a)

...I recaule what I have formerly desiered of you concerning the k[nave ?] Lillo<sup>4</sup>. Nowe I wishe you to strengethen what you have formerly advised the Company concerninge his accompts geven them; for I see he is subtill and unjust in all his cariage of wound, and so no doubte in deeds.... Eldred is his counsoler—yours formerly and my ever most mortall enemy.... I for my

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Deane, a wealthy London merchant, died 15 May, 1608, and has a handsome monument in St Olave's, Hart Street. His widow in the following September married John Brewster, of the Middle Temple (*London Marriage Licences*, vol. 1, p. 308).

<sup>2</sup> Margaret, widow of Alderman Sir Richard Goddard, became in 1606 the fourth wife of Alderman William Walthall. He was buried early in Sept. 1608, and six years later his widow married Otho Nicholson.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Harvey, comptroller of the London customs, married Sarah Awdeley (*Herald & Genealogist*, vol. vi, p. 152).

<sup>4</sup> Sanderson was now incensed with Lello for taking part against him in his controversy with the administratrix of Barton's estate.

part have bine most diviles[h]ly deceived in his Machiavilian cariadge towards me.... This day Sir H. Lello tould me that the French ambasiator heare hath lately complayned of you to My Lord Treasurer [i.e. Lord Salisbury], and that His Lordship writteth you therof. He said that you not havinge bine of longe time to visitt thier ambassiator, when you came at the first you offered to borowe his horsse; and not longe after, some of thier nation weare slaine at your gate<sup>1</sup>....

*John Kitley at Constantinople to J. S. in London*

2 November 1608 (f. 197 b)

...The Empiror at present hath made peace, and the rebells in Natolia ar subdued; wherby the G[rand] S[ignor] is freed from a good parte of his intreagues; and it also argueth that your Turkie trade wilbe much bettered. His Lordship at present procuereth very seriously for the Prince of Muldavia; which busines by His Magestie and Counsell was recommended unto him; and it seemeth, by his wisdom in provident plotts, continuall paines and industrie, he will ere longe restore him to his princedom.... The newes of my mariage of a widowe in Sio, I thinke... proceeded frome him [i.e. Lello] etc. I pray you demaund of him six dollars for phisicke wherewith I cuered him and made him redye to accompany His Lordship to deliver the present (otherwise, his contience knowes, he could not have gone); and ten chequiens which he gave his wound to paye unto me for Sir Thomas Shirly....

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*

16 November 1608 (f. 193 a)

...Your sister, with hir complaints of hir husband, doth often trouble the said knight [i.e. Lello].... She tells me hir desier is to be devoursed for three years; but he devourseth himselfe (as she saith) and onse in five or six weeks casts hir five or six shillings; and further reliefe (she saith) she hath not, except frome the

<sup>1</sup> The incident is referred to in a previous letter to Glover of 27 Aug. 1608 (f. 101 b). See also *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. XI, nos. 270, 281, and *S.P., Turkey*, vol. VI, ff. 39, 57, 59, 80.

Lady Selby, hir husbands sister... He [Lello] said that Master Bidle was with My Lords Grace of Canterbury<sup>1</sup> lately, and that he shewed him two letters which you had writt against him [i.e. Biddulph]; but My Lords Grace graced him neverthesse. And said he redd to him all the lines of your letters and that they weare ridiculus; you terming His Grace Reverend Sir, and concluding that, yf he punished Bidle, you would send him somwhate... My Lords Grace of Canterbury takes place above a duke and is a most sufficient, wise, and exelent consoler: not to be offerd rewaurd of inferiours, nether to be titled under his degree... Master Eldred hath helped Master Bidle to an ad- viouson of six score pounds per yeare (I say a benifice of cxx*li*. per yeare) for 110*li*. of mony. This he did at Sir Lillos request. ... Nowe for newes heare is little passed since my last. All quiett yet one all parts. Ten shippes came in company of the Pearle out of the Streights, laden with currants; and some frome France, Spaine, Moscovie, Dans[i]qe, and the Lowe Contryes. A talke heare is of a banke, as they have at Venis; but is thought will take no effect, for Brittans love to be at libertie to borowe and lend of whome and to whome they lust<sup>2</sup>. Mony, God be thanked, is indifferent plentie, and like to be the more for the mynes in Scotland. But all kinde of corne at doble the accustomed price in a manner. At this time little other plague...

### *The Same to The Same*

15 December 1608 (f. 196 b)

...I geve with every letter [for Turkey] a shilling, and as much or more for every one I receave frome Constantinople... Master Biddle [Biddulph] is putting to print all his travailes<sup>3</sup>. And Master

<sup>1</sup> Richard Bancroft (1604-10).

<sup>2</sup> In *Lansdowne MS.* 108 (no. 90) will be found a letter from Paul Pindar to Salisbury, proposing the establishment of a bank on the model of that at Venice. The letter is undated, but it was written in England and cannot therefore be later than 1606; while a reference to a recent loan from the City to the King (probably that of 1604) suggests a slightly earlier date. Possibly the scheme was being discussed at the time Sanderson was writing; and he certainly seems to allude to one feature of Pindar's proposals, which was that the use of the bank should be compulsory.

<sup>3</sup> Published in 1609, under the title of *The Travels of certaine Englishmen*....



Fenton tells me that one Stracie<sup>1</sup> is making a booke against you; which yf it should be so, it peradventure may cost him both ears....

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*  
28 December 1608 (f. 197 b)

...Some five dayes past I have concluded with Master Fenton concerning R. Barton (deceased) for the widowe Loughe his kinswoman the administratrix.... Master Staper shall shortly be married to the daughter of Master Ofield, deceased. Hir dowery is 3000*li.* sterling, besides hir mothers blessinge, which in time [it] is thought may be above 1000 more.

*The Same to John Kitely at Constantinople*  
16 January 1609 (f. 198 a)

...Nowe for Sir Lillo, I have, according to your desier, demanded the six dollars... and the ten che[quins]... at which demand his collar is so great that I can have no direct answeare.... The first time he said that you weare to answere him for 17 dollors wourth of druggs and a booke. The second time he said, yf you come to counting, he will in another sort count with you when you come home; and so flonge away.... Master Jonas Aldrich is lately come out of Italy....

*The Same to Martin Calthorpe in Norfolk*  
16 January 1609 (f. 260 b)

...[PS.] Newes, a pinis, laden with cloves, arived frome the East India<sup>2</sup>, and another pinis frome Virginia; divers ships frome

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless this was the William Strachey who was taken out to Constantinople by Glover in 1606 as his secretary and was dismissed in the following year for being too friendly with Lello. Strachey departed for England in April or May 1607, full of bitterness against Glover; but if he ever contemplated attacking him in print, he seems to have thought better of his intention. For details of the quarrel, see my letter in *The Times Literary Supplement* of 3 July, 1930, where I also pointed out that Glover's secretary was evidently identical with the Strachey of Virginia fame. That the latter had been in the Levant was known from a passing reference in his letter printed in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. IV, p. 1734, but the incident had not previously been elucidated.

<sup>2</sup> This was the *Consent* (Third Voyage), commanded by David Middleton.

Franze, Spane, the Streights, etc. Per letters overland the latest matter with us one the Exchange is the decease of the virtiouse lady at Constantinople, the Lady Glover, wife to the Lord Ambassador. She died of the plague the 2 day of November 1608<sup>1</sup>.

*The Same to John Kitley at Constantinople*

17 and 18 January 1609 (f. 259 a)

...This day I received yours of the 16th October....His Lordship I take to be of to[o] manly and heroyacall spiritt to be amated [i.e. dismayed] at the decease of one wife....Who dares in thought contradicke the will of the Eternall?...Counsell His Lordship to interr hir ther. My opinion is that in the monastary of Calcose Ile, where that wourthy Bartons body lieth, ether by or therabout, with some marble monument, wilbe more laudable then to bring hir corps for England. You knowe it is Christian buriall; and peradventure, yf by sea she should be transported, every storme would hassard hir tru[n]cke [i.e. coffin] to be buried overbourd; most mariners ar superstitiouse in that respect. And all reson and order would that, wher the tree fauleth, ther it should lie....Privatly to burie hir it is the best in my opinion....whose soul, no doubt, is at rest with God. Thus to His Lordship I commend me most hartely; to your good selfe also, and other our frends, by name Master Perch, Master Newport, and Master Anthony Abdie. [PS.]...You nominate in your last letter to me His Lordships present, but say not what it is....I loke for no such matters, for Master Bostocke had but the halfe of that was written to be sent....For my letters, I praye you very hartly that you will reserve them safely, and I earnestly intreat His Lordship to doe the like, for you see we ar all mortall, and many (as by experience of Lillo) most malitious and in thier foolishhe humours triumphes uppon papers and letters of others and spares not to put in printt matters of wournout newes and ould date, with malitiouse additions and faulse flatteries, as by the inclosed you may perceave; which I tore out of a booke sett out to the wourld, nominated the Travails of Divers Englishmen into Africa

<sup>1</sup> See *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. xi, no. 370.

etc., by one Theophilus Lavender<sup>1</sup>; a sweet and virtiouse name, and yet the booke stinkes of lies and foolerye. No other abhominable asse would be (I thinke) so senslesse to liken our Saviour, Jesus Christ. . . to a janizary, a Christians most opposite. I thinke Master Leat sends you the booke. It is somewhat thicke. Most of it conteynes Master William Biddles letters written to divers his worshipful frends in England, intreating of his travails etc. Some affirme that they weare put in print without his knoweledge and consent; and so may be verely thought. Thus you see howe a man may be extraordinarily abused in his letters comming to the hands of foolishe frends or strangers. I have presisely redd over all the booke, and find some fooleries, but none like the inclosed; which I thought good to send you, for, yf report should be of a booke in print and say it tutches such or such persons, ther might be great jelosie [i.e. suspicion] howe and in what sort. Therefore, to avoyd further imagination of ill, I have sent you all spoken both of reproch and faulse praies: a matter but a fewe dayes prattle and to[o] slight to be regarded of the wisest and best. . . . Lett him [i.e. Glover] not abase his mind. . . but scorne the relation, laughe at malitiouslye folly, and lett it passe for foolery. . . . [PPS.] Antony Abdie, in one letter to his brother Bostocke, writt that the Ladye [Glover] had a sore come out in hir arme, and the next week, by another letter, that she was dead. . . . We see howe sodenly we ar gone. . . . Wherefore, yf the Lord should (as God forbid) visitt the ambassiator in person, see you, I pray you, to take all the papers I have sent him frome time to time into your hands. . . and yf God should visitt you (whiche He also forbide), in suche case deliver all my papers in your hands to the ambassiator, I pray you. . . for, althoughe my letters be not much importante at any time, yet to have every Jacke to descane<sup>2</sup> my meaning I would be loth. . . .

<sup>1</sup> This was Biddulph's book, mentioned on p. 257. It has no name on the title page, but the Preface is signed 'Theophilus Lavender,' a pseudonym, it was suspected (see p. 265), of a kinsman of Biddulph.

<sup>2</sup> Probably for 'descant,' i.e. carp at or criticize.

*J. S. to His 'Cosen,' Henry Sanderson*

9 February 1609 (f. 245 a)

he fitnes of this messenger your servant causeth me chefully to lute you by this my letter, and likewise to certifie I earnestly asier that by my cosen Samwell the booke of my travailes, which was lent to be read, may be sent to my hands againe; for we agreed when I delivered it you, and that not any except Master Fetherston should have sight therof. Nowe I hartely pray you be remembered to fulfill my mind in this matter, and that it be brought the next tearme, when you or some of yours, make no doubt, wilbe heare. I would not for all that I am ourth it should faule into the hands of any fantastick stranger, or so peradventure I may be basely abused, as some heare very tely have bine by havinge ther letters and notes in books put in print, which they never mente should goe to presse or publique perusinge, by which means they ar made ridiculus to the ourld—an injury, in my opinion, without compare, or at least irrecompencable. To prevent which, good cosen, lett that my id written booke be delivered to me againe....

*Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople to J. S. in London*

17 March 1609 (f. 295 b)

.Yf Sir Lillo tould the woman that R. B. died wourth 200l., then must he answeare it, for he toke all at his death; and no doubt he will geve as good an accompt of hir brothers deceased. Much is the fidelitie and honestie of that foggie cloune in his dealinge with all men. The last divan [i.e. meeting of the council] here was brought 100 heads of the rebells, that weare scattered in the woods and mountaynes when they weare overthrowne by Turat Bassa; and still daylie, as they find them, they cutt of thier heads, and those that bringe them to the port have a chequine for head. The shipp Royall Defence one the 15th of this present departed for the Blacke Seas; I havinge procuered for them not only lisenace to such purpose (notwithstandinge a great opposition thes have made), but divers commaundements for

thier particuler busines ther. God send them a prosperous voyage<sup>1</sup>.

*Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople to J. S. in London*

5 April 1609 (f. 295 b)<sup>2</sup>

...A few daies past I demanded of this viceroy, Muratt Bassa, an absolute answere of thier determination concerninge our Prince Stephano Bogdan, sonne of Yancolo, inferringe I must send him againe frome whenc he came, yf so that the Grand Signor and they would not be as good as thier wourds to install him in his lawefull patrimony; as also requierd [them] to geve answere to His Magestis letters written to the Grand Signor in that behalfe; who with a solleme oath protested that ere longe he should have his desier, for His Magestis sake, yf not Moldavia, then Valachia, without any faile, and so willed me to assuer myselfe therof and patiently expect the time, and so much to certifie His Magestie of the Grand Signors his such determination.... One the 29th March eight gallies departed Constantinople under conduct of the Bassa of Siprus, cauled Longozadie, beinge bound for Tripoli (Sirria) and Alexandria, to bringe poulder and other munition requisite for the armado that shalbe sett fourth this springe, the expedition wherof is very earnestly procecuted. The Persian ambassiator is licensed to depart, and the 20th March passed over unto Scuderie, and one the 24th detto departed thence towards his contry, with absolute determination of warrs. Every duvan day heare his [*sic*] brought by 100ths and two hundreths heads of the rebels, as my last reported. The Royall Defence as yesterday is returned frome the Blacke Sea without any frayght or passingers....

<sup>1</sup> The intelligence given in this letter is confirmed by Glover's despatch of the same date to Lord Salisbury (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. VI, f. 103). In that the ambassador said that, the Levant Company desiring to trade in the Black Sea, he had procured the necessary licence, and that Mr Garraway's son had sailed accordingly in the *Royal Defence* (the 'first English shippe that ever swome in those sease') on 15 March for 'Capha' (Kaffa, in the Crimea) and other places.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the ambassador's despatch of the same date to Lord Salisbury, in *S.P., Turkey*, vol. VI (f. 105).

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*  
2 and 3 May 1609 (*f.* 257 b)

The 28th of December my letter was dated that gave advise of an agreement concerning that the widowe and the Scot hir procurator Fenton demaunded. . . . The letters Your Lordship writt My Lords Grace of Canterbury weare very sensible, without exceptions; onely yf, instead of Gratiouse Lord at the begining, you had written Most Reverent Father in God, etc.; for Gratiouse Lord is an imputation layed by the Puritans uppon the reverend bishoppes of our land, in which sence and understanding not to be used. And therfore, when My Lords Grace redd the letters to Biddle, he (as Bidle reported to Sir Lillo) said Reverend Sir; which might very well be, instead of Gratiouse Lord, for so it would have liked the Archebishop better. Yet dout you not at all but, howsoever His Grace gave Bidle good wourds, his creadit was a little craysed by those letters; and so lett him goe. Nowe, for the superscription, it was also very well; onely yf the wourd Primat had bine put before, and Metripolitan. And that His Grace understood your right meaning doubt you not. Nowe for to take superscriptions out of books in thes our days is to no purpose, for thes in our times have titles contrary to ould custome. . . . Spaine hath concluded and proclaimed peace with the Lowe Conterys<sup>1</sup>; and that to inhabitt Virginia ar redie to depart 8 or 9 shippes lading of men, women, and cattell<sup>2</sup>. . . . We ar at peace with all the wourld except the Popish Superstition and that soule-killinge faction which every trewe English hart, I thinke, doth hate. . . . The [Levant] Company. . . . nowe ar in election of a newe consull for Aleppo. I wish it to Master Jonas Aldrich, but I doubt he will miss therof, for Sir Lillo hath abused him intolarabbly and of the Company he hath not many frends. Out of doubt, yf he be not elected, they will send some [one ?] very insuffitient. The Darling arived heare; not yet come up. She had a very swifte passage frome Scandarone in seven

<sup>1</sup> The peace concluded between Spain and Holland was published at Antwerp on 4 April, 1609, and at Amsterdam three weeks later (*Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. xi, nos. 483, 503).

<sup>2</sup> This was the expedition commanded by Sir Thomas Gates.

weeks<sup>1</sup>. . . . I heard by divers longe since of your wifes death, and nowe I signifie that my brothers wife is also departed this life some two months<sup>2</sup> since. Your younger cosen, William Glover, proceadeth this yeare Batcheler of Art in the universitie of Oxfourd. His mother and all your cosens ar in health. . . .

*John Kitely at Constantinople to J. S. in London*

6 May 1609 (f. 409 a)<sup>3</sup>

...I would take some paines with my penne to perfume Theophilus Lavender, but you knowe the nature of the stuffe is rancke and not to be stird in. What maie be donne besid in other places wilbe knowne when we see the booke. In the meanwhile I smell his kinsman, Theologus Spickenard (which is another kind of lavender), to s[c]ent of a foole (as hott as oyle of spike) in his similitude of our Savioure Christ to the janisary; and ever hath shewed more beard then witt or religion in all his ten yeares travils. Wittnes his behaviour at Aleppo, here, and now lastly at Zante<sup>4</sup>. . . . The third kind of lavender is Sir Lavender Cotton<sup>5</sup>, a worthie drugg in virtue (asse Theophilus sayth). He was dubde knight for his dughtie deeds. He reformed his house (you knowe) to his greate profite; he was an instrumentall cause that manswoold the Bushoppe of Salonique, for stealinge him bookes out of that library; enstalled Prince Yancolo into the stockes; was beaten by Brevis; and the Mary Rose was burnt in his regiment, etc.; wherewith you maie reforme Theophilus in his next impression. There are two herbes more which entered into the composition of that booke, as wee imagine: Romans wormewood the pilgrim and poet, ragwoorte the secretary, which we suppose calls himselfe Theophilus Lavender; whereof if you enforme yourselfe and send word, it will be gratefully taken. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Sanderson goes on to expostulate warmly with Glover for having communicated to someone in England a passage from one of his (Sanderson's) letters, reflecting on Sir Ralph Coningsby. He returned to the subject in his letter to Kitely of 18 May, 1609.

<sup>2</sup> In the letter of 18 May already mentioned, Sanderson said, 'three or four moneths since.'

<sup>3</sup> An original letter, added to the volume.

<sup>4</sup> The writer goes on to accuse Biddulph of gross immorality and drunkenness.

<sup>5</sup> Meaning Sir Henry Lello.

I shewed your letter and likewise perswaded a private funerall in the place you named; but as yet cannot prevaile. He answers shee is buried already in branne, which is a kind of earth, and it is no sinne to keepe her. Get Master Leate and Master Stapers to persuade to intere her, for sight of her herse oftentimes revives his melancholy passions. Newse none from the confines, but freindly conversation and entercourse of al sortes of marchandise upon the borders betweene the Turks and Emperiallistes. The Grand Signor now bendes all his forces ageainst the Percian. Murat Bassa, who this yeare past freed Natolia from rebellion, is sayd to goe generall for those warres. You knowe his authoretie is great, beinge Cheife Vizerey Azem [see p. 201]; and therefore doubtlesse will leade with him a mightie army. He is politique and valiant. The first he hath shewed in making peace with the Emperoure, and the other in the suppression of the rebellion of Jonpolatouglic, Calenderouglic, and all others in Natolia....

*J. S. in London to John Kitely at Constantinople*

18 May 1609 (*f.* 256 *b*)

...My last to you...gave intelligence howe knavishly by Bidles kinsman His Lordship had bine couertly a little toughted in a printed book. Suerly I thinke it could not be without Bidles concent, as may be perceaved by the liing extolling of Sir Lillo. Uppon Sonday last in Poules Bidle passed by me and gave me a conjoye [i.e. a *congé*, or bow]; but my hart rosse at his gotes beard, that I had no power to speake to him.... Uppon Monday last six shippes (and two out of the west contry) ar departed for Virginia; 500 men to remaine there, and 2 or 300 women; and a freshe supplie of shippes and men ar to depart within a moneth or two....

*The Same to Martin Calthorpe in Norfolk*

18 May 1609 (*f.* 260 *a*)

...Concerning my jorney into Northfolke...it wilbe about the midde of October before I shalbe so redye as I would to depart London; and then the time wilbe temperate, to take pleasure in



travaile, spend a moneth with you, and retorne. . . . Wheare I shall play the last act of my pilgrimage, God He knoweth. Onse [i.e. for certain] in London I purpose not to be longe a lodger. . . . Late newes heare is not, other then that six or seven shippes uppon Monday last departed for Virginia, fraygte with people and cattell, and ever since have had a faire wind. Peace most certaine above a moneth since concluded with the Flemings by Spaign for twelve years. The plague not much, considering the number of people in this citie. The bread yet smaule. . . .

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*  
24 May 1609 (f. 255 b)

...Sir Lillo and myselfe ar both at a poynt not at all to speake to each other, thoughe every day we meet and walke the Exchange; but he keepest most in the Aldermens Walke. He puffs and snuffs at me unmeasurably; and so lett him lie till his hart ake. . . . [PS.] I wish Your Lordship a booke<sup>1</sup> which came out uppon Monday last, written by the Kings Most Exelent Magistie, dedicated and directed to the Empirer and all other good Christian kings and princes. It is to[o] bigge to send overland; but I verely thinke it wilbe with you ere longe, for it is in Lattine as well as Englishe; the best that ever I read.

*The Same to Mrs Calthorpe in Norfolk*  
5 June 1609 (f. 260 a)

...I should be very glad to see you in London...for neyther dearenes of the season nor disperced sickenes. . . . can be any such impediment in my opinion; for (God be thanked) the first is not much, the last in manner nothinge, considering the multitude, for what is under 100 a weeke out of 2 or 300,000? . . . . Weare I settled by myselfe or with a good rich wife, that I might but shewe my affection in deede, I would not doubt but to see you hear at least onse or twise in two or three years. To be convenient

<sup>1</sup> *An Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, first published anonymously in 1606, but re-issued under the King's name in 1609, together with a 'premonition' to his brother monarchs of the danger of acknowledging the Pope's claims to authority over them.

and lovingly received of some espetiall frend would be a good inducement of your comminge; but howe can you misse emongest so many? Yet the Goulden Kie (wheare I thinke you weare the last of your beinge heare) is nowe newly painted, and inhabited by Master Thomas Bennett<sup>1</sup>, the Flaunders merchaunt, but the shopp still [belongs?] to Master Horam and Heath....

*The Same to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*

18 October 1609 (f. 255 a)

...The other cause of my longe silence hath bine my absence frome London three moneths together, and am nowe retorned out of the north, my native contry, wheare emongst my kindered and frends, I thanke God, I have passed that time with much content and as merely as my hart could desier, every day hunting, hawking, bowling, etc. And nowe am retorned for a time to plod out my pidlinge estate. But before many year<sup>o</sup> passe I hope to be settled frome this London fumo [i.e. smoke: Ital. *fumo*], for the contry ayre dothe reffresh my spirit and fatten me exceadingly.... Your Lordship was a lettell moved at my hastie and unadvised mistaking in the case of Sir R. Conisbie, by Lillos lieing reports; yett.... I am well assuerd by the conclusion that you have not onely remitted but forgiven my rashnes in that matter.... I doe a little muse howe Master Kitely is departed frome you. I hope in good terms, thoughe I doe imagine the contrary, because Your Lordship saith it may be that frome Sio he will goe to his native contry.... Every chequine heare in England is wourth above 7s., taken to be changed at a gouldsmith staule....

*The Same to John Kitely*

9 December 1609 (f. 252 b)

...Except you procead doctor before you come into England, our Colladge of Phesitions, you knowe, ar very contentiouse; and thoughe you doe, I thinke you shall scarcely be permitted to

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Thomas Bennet, mercer, alderman, 1613-20, and sheriff in 1613-14. He died at his house in Cheapside on 19 April, 1620, and was buried in Mercers' Chapel. The Golden Key in Cheapside is referred to in *Cal. S.P., Dom.*, 1601-03, p. 40.

practice heare without disturbe. It weare exelent yf you proceeded at Padua or elsewhear in Italie, and bac[k] againe to the ambasetor, remaining ther till his retorne, whose welcome to the Kinge would countenance you in the hiest degre. Care not for expencies. Dispice a little mony. Your wourth and good report will wind in thrise as much againe in a very smaule time.... [P.S.] The noyes in myne ears remains, and I am out of all hope of help. It is a wind that will not be expelled. It trobles me somewhat, but not much (I thanke God).

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*

9 January 1610 (f. 254 a)

...Your sister Peacocke (whose husband, as she saith, is dead in Ierland)...hath so of late overintreated me that, to redeme part of hir things in pawne, I have lent hir 4 or 5*li.*; others of the Company much more. She goes with petitions publike and privattly to the how[s]es of the best to bewayle hir case and intreate. With many she doth prevaile. Till 80 or 100*li.* be lent hir, she saith she will not leave soliciting. I reproved hir, and blamed hir in respect of Your Lordship, but all in vaine. You knowe hir of ould; she is no changling. One child, she saith, suketh at hir brest, had by hir last husband....Newes heare...that Master Salters daughter is married to Sir Henry Boyer<sup>1</sup>, a young knight, and hath 500*li.* portion, and Master Stevan Harvie married to Master Stones[?] daughter, who hath a very good dowrie. Sir L[ello] was at his, and I was at the other; both uppon Monday last....

<sup>1</sup> Presumably this was Henry Boyer of Bucks, knighted 27 Nov. 1609 (Shaw's *Knights*, vol. II, p. 149). He was married on the fourth of the following month to Anne Salter (*Registers of St. Olave's, Hart St.* (Harleian Society, vol. XLVI), p. 259).

*Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople to J. S. in London*  
22 April 1610 (f. 382 a)<sup>1</sup>

...I cannot at this tyme writ you at lardge as I would in answeare of your soe many longe letters, by reasone of my serious businesses I have at this instant in hand about the instalinge of the infortunat Prince Jancula, whoe within this 20 or 30 dayes at the furthest either shall be installed or sent backe agayne by me from whence he cam, for I can noe longer supporte the greate chardges I have bin at any tyme this two yeares and a halfe<sup>2</sup>...

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*  
26 July 1610 (f. 252 a)

...Jonas doth the most wickedly, crewelly, obsurdly, and avani-ously use me....He nowe makes all possible means to go con-sull for Aleppo. Its doubtfull he shall not speed; but yf he doe, lett Your Lordship be rememberd by me that he is Jonas Aldrich and was much desierouse to have gone your secretary. You ar nowe otherwise provided; of whome I would writt somewhat, but suppose, [if] my meaninge should be never so well, it would be

<sup>1</sup> This is the original letter, inserted in the volume. A copy appears at f. 251 a, and this suggests that the insertion of the original was an afterthought. The first portion deals with a payment made by Glover at Sanderson's request to Francis Percivall of 164 chequins. Attached is a copy of Sanderson's receipt for 57l. 8s., paid him in London by Matthew Stoker (whose agent Percivall was), in satisfaction of the debt, the chequin being rated at 7s. The debt is frequently referred to in Sanderson's previous letters to Glover.

<sup>2</sup> Sandys (p. 66) refers with regret to Glover's 'too violent, chargeable, and successless soliciting of the restitution of the Prince of Moldavia, whom adversity hath rather made crafty than honest.' Paul Pindar, also, in a letter from Pera, dated 30 August, 1612 (Brit. Mus. *Nero B xi*, f. 250 a), says that Glover had much irritated the Turkish ministers by his eager advocacy of Stefano's claims, 'in the solicitation of which suite there weare spent above three yeares tyme and great sommes of money in the prosecution, to make freindes for the same; butt the issew thereof proved most unfortunat, for after all the place was conferred uppon another of the race of those princes of the house of Tomsha, called alsoe Steffano; whereuppon the other Yancola... hopeles of further meanes in his pretences, became Turcke, and soe remayneth, in a government given him thereuppon, in Asia, a place called Bursia [i.e. Brusa]. The dispositione of the principedome of Moldavia was passed some moneth before my arryvall heere; but the rennegatt prince became Turke since my coming, some two monethes after.'

taken ill of some partie; and therfore I crave pardon. You ar wise, I knowe, in what may concerne you; yet lett me intreat Your Lordships favour to put all my papers and letters at private times into your house of office for your owne use. . . . Be advised frome me that no mans wourds passeth better in the Company then Master Morris Abbotts, whose frendshipp hould, for I thinke him to be well affected to you; and suer he is a good deserner of differencies and an undoubted impartiall man. . . .

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*

23 October 1610 (f. 250 b)

...I am most glad to see Your Lordships great prosperitie by times alterd Turkie tradinge. Five shippes at a clapp to that port. Hallah hemdulilas<sup>1</sup>. Your consoledge is suer; which, by my counsell, kepe frome that ruinating, luckelesse Voyvods fingering, and thinke not often to have the like gettinge. I have sent you an exelent Christian religioouse booke<sup>2</sup>; uppon which yf you meditate with like comforte I receaved therin, I have my wishe. . . .

*The Same to The Same*

25 October 1610 (f. 250 a)

By Bartholmewe Haggett, who then I supposed should have gone your secretary, I sent Your Lordship a very good booke and withall a letter. . . . Nowe by a frend I understand the case is altered and that the said Hagged goeth overland secretly, sent to be consull of Aleppo and to take accompt of P[aul] Pinder. Edward Abbott expected that; and so did Jonas goe without it. But both, I heare, shalbe employed: Abbott by some frends (they say), and Jonas to Petrasse. . . . Heare hath bine a sore canvas against you, I had almost said an avanania<sup>3</sup>, by some your backe frends, who plotted sereously to put againe in your place the leane knight, Sir H.; grieving that your consoledge should be so

<sup>1</sup> *Allah, hamdu lillah*, 'God! Praise be to God.'

<sup>2</sup> From a letter (f. 249 b) to Kitely, to whom another copy of the book was sent, it contained 'nine sermons, more wourth then gould or pretious stones.'

<sup>3</sup> See p. 19; and compare Biddulph (p. 84), who says that the Turks 'make avenias of them [i.e. the Christians], that is, false accusations.'

fatt, and much repineing at your comminge prosperytie. But God, together with those your wellwillers of the Company, withstood and prevented that intent, and with some contradiction overthrewe the devise....[*PS. 27 October.*] Sir H. L. and I are estrainged, I thincke, for ever. We converse not together; yet I beare him no mallice. A[nthony] Abdie did earnestly intreat my company the daye of his mariadge; so to My Lord Maiors I went, whose daughter is his wife [see p. 205*n*]. Master Leat had his daughter married this weeke<sup>1</sup>; but his sonne in lawe and I am of no acquaintance; so I was not ther. I pray Your Lordship to writt me whether you did strike Edward Abbott or no. I wishe your enemyes were confounded; but lay no hands uppon the Inglish factors, for your only threatnings is harsh in the Companies eares....

*The Same to The Same*

8 November 1610 (*f. 248 b*)

The shippes nowe uppon departure, and Jonas...for Petrasse.... Yesternight at the evening burse<sup>2</sup> in the twicelight he and Sir H. L., your adversary, weare in great secrett talke, most familiar. Judge the rest.... Master Dorringtons desier is that Your Lordship would be pleased to favoure thier kinsman<sup>3</sup>, the bearer hearof, with the like curtesie that A. Abdie had of the last ambassiator, to lodge in your house and eate at your table. His time wilbe but short, and thier thankfullnesse wilbe great. The youth hath bine lately in Spaine, and is prayed of them....

*The Same to The Same*

29 November 1610 (*f. 247 b*)

...The latest newes frome Constantinople is that the Pollacks [*i.e.* Poles] have robbed you of 3,000 dollers; which, yf trewe, I am sory to heare. Onse [*i.e.* for certain] I know that that Bugdan burde whome you have so longe harbored is a great discreadett to you and hinderance, no doubt, to your estate. Cleare

<sup>1</sup> John Wylde, a London merchant, married Mary, daughter of Nicholas Leate (*Visitation of London, 1633-35*, vol. II, p. 376), but whether that was the marriage here mentioned is not certain.

<sup>2</sup> The afternoon meeting at the Royal Exchange.

<sup>3</sup> Arthur Dorrington, son of the elder of the two brothers (*f. 250 a*).

of late bured hir second and third daughter, and all hir sons save one, of the plague; her eldest daughter doble alive, for she is great-belied, and married, as is said, to Fenton the Scot, hir mothers soliciter. . . . I purpose by the grace of God to end with them, thoughe it be to my no little losse, for I am alredie weary of lawing. . . . For news, the French ambassiator<sup>1</sup> lately came, and shortly shall retorne. Monssieur Epurnon [the Duc d'Épernon] in prison in France (as they say), yett all quiett ther. The Lorde of Kinlosse<sup>2</sup>, who was Master of the Rowles, dead, and Sir Edward Phillipps in his place. The Earle of Dunbarr dead<sup>3</sup>; and one of his places My Lord of Conberland hath; the other three to three noble Scots. My Lord Fenton<sup>4</sup> swourn of the Privie Counsell. The sea of Canterbury yet voyd. A wourthy knight, one Digbie, is going ambassiator into Spaine<sup>5</sup>. Three or four shipps preparing, nay redy, within thes 10 or 20 dayes to goe for the East Indies<sup>6</sup>. The Lady Arbella, it is thought, shall goe to remaine in the north contry with the Lord Bishopp of Durham; hir husband, Master Seymer, in the Tower of London<sup>7</sup>. . . .

*J. S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople*

22 February 1611 (*f.* 246 *a*)

...It is heare also reported that you doe the dead lady, your wife, wrong, because you have not yet given hir Christian buriall, but

<sup>1</sup> M. de la Boderie.

<sup>2</sup> Baron Bruce of Kinloss died suddenly on 14 Jan. 1611. Sir Edward Phelips succeeded him. See Birch, vol. 1, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> George Home, first Earl of Dunbar, died at Whitehall on 30 Jan. 1611. He was succeeded as Lord High Treasurer of Scotland by Sir Robert Ker, Earl of Somerset. What post was taken by Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, has not been found.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Erskine had been created Baron Dirleton in 1604 and Viscount Fenton two years later. In 1619 he was made Earl of Kellie.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Digby (afterwards Earl of Bristol) was sent to Madrid to negotiate a marriage between Prince Henry and the Spanish Infanta.

<sup>6</sup> These were the *Globe* (Seventh Voyage) and the three ships of the Eighth Voyage under Capt. Saris.

<sup>7</sup> The Lady Arabella Stuart had been imprisoned in July 1610 for marrying William Seymour, after they had both promised not to wed without the King's consent. Seymour had at the same time been sent to the Tower. On 13 March, 1611, as here foreshadowed, Arabella was placed under the charge of the Bishop of Durham, to be taken by him to Durham. On the way she escaped, but was captured in the Straits of Dover and lodged in the Tower, where she remained until her death in 1615.

have laid hir in the butery, at the end of the selore [i.e. cellar] underground, as some thinke<sup>1</sup>. . . . To ease my mind of disturbe, disquietnes, and lawing, I have uppon Mondy last concluded all with the said woman, and toke of hir a generall quittance for all that may concerne R[obert] B[arton], deceased. Jonas had so plotted the matter that with lesse then 55*li.* redy mony I could not content them; so much they had of me, and 3*li.* 5*s.* I spent about the matter in lawe before it was concluded. . . . So all matters with my cosen Mary, My L[ords] sister, ar ended one my part; but at Sir H[enry] she will have a fling that may in time as well anger him as they have angered me; and yf Your Lordship come home, they will also make thier demands of you, to see yf Sir H[enry's] informations faule out to be trewe. But that I make accompt wilbe in vaine, thoughe indeed they be unreasonable and unsatiabile. . . .

*Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople to J. S. in London*  
9 March 1611 (f. 411 a)<sup>2</sup>

. . . The Persian kinge, whether in policie or in earnest it is much doubted, offereth a peace unto the Gran Signor uppon verie lardge conditiones; which peace is greatlie wished and prayed for by all Turques in generall; but the Gran Signor his obstynacie is such as he will by noe meane accepte therof. Soe that one boath sides there are verie greate preparationes made against the next springe. The Kinge of Powland in Moscovia hath bin (as the report goeth) greatlie beaten and overthrowne by [the] Moscovitanes. The Gran Signors armado is preparinge towards this springe to incounter the Christian gallyones and galies, and to doe other damadges, wher they can, uppon the Christian shore. I have obtayned a hathumayun<sup>3</sup> from the Gran Signor for our prince; soe that wee onlie expecte a messenger from Bugdania to advise us of the Prince of Transilvania his arrivall ther to take

<sup>1</sup> It was not until 14 April, 1612, that the body was buried, with much ceremony, among the English graves, about a mile from Pera (Knolles, p. 908).

<sup>2</sup> An original letter, inserted at the end of the volume. It has a seal, with the writer's coat of arms. See also Glover's despatch of the same date in *S.P., Turkey*, vol. vi, f. 209.

<sup>3</sup> A document under the Great Seal (*khātem*, 'seal,' and *ehemm*, 'most important').



possession of the place untill our princes comminge ther, whoe is marchinge thither with 40,000 men, by the Gran Signors order. And the Prince Constantyne the usurper, by reporte, understandinge of the Transylvanians approache, is allreadie fleade from thence; and some saye that he hath onlie retired himselfe for his best advantadge, and purposeth to decide his fortune by dynt of sword; for the event wherof we daylie expecte.... [PS.] Master Dorington, whom you have soe kyndlie reccommended unto me, shall be used noe otherwise then my owne brother. I have offered him my service, and my howse to lodge for the tyme of his abode here, but he with thanks refused the same.... It is reported in England that I have stroken Master Ed. Abbot. If ever I have done soe, or used him otherwise in wordes and deedes at his beinge here, then lett God damne me for ever....

*J. S. in London to The Rev. Samuel Purchas*

[1623] (f. 346 a)

Since in my conceipt, Master Purcus<sup>1</sup>, you have so axceptably received the former papers presented, thes also I doe bringe to your other [*sic*]; which, put together, you may please at your laysure to peruse over. Therin shall you perceave that this John Sanderson hath happely, by Gods permission, traced part of the Holy Land in the lifetime of his pilgrimadg; who now drawes neere the period [*i.e.* end], beinge past 63. I pray God to graunt me a chierefull conclusion....

<sup>1</sup> This spelling is a further proof that (as pointed out in my article on Purchas in the *Geographical Journal* for September 1926) the name was pronounced 'Purkas.'

## MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS<sup>1</sup>

### Folio 383 *b*

'The English translatyon of the privedge or letters of the most mightie empiror Sultan Muratt Chan,' June, 1580.

Printed in Hakluyt (vol. v, p. 183), from another version. See also *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. VIII, no. 127, and *S.P., For., Treaty Papers*, vol. LXXII (P.R.O.).

### Folio 385 *b*

Account of a present to the Grand Signor, consisting of a clock, mostly made of silver, with sundry fine devices and 'sett with stones,' costing 304*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; fine broadcloth, 443*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*; gilt plate, 298*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*; and twelve dogs, 36*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*; in all, 1082*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.*

Though no date is given, this is evidently the present delivered by Harborne in 1583 (see Hakluyt, vol. v, p. 257).

### Folios 388 *a*–389 *a*

Copies of five letters from: (1) John Eldred at Baghdad, 14 July, 1583; (2) and (3) Eldred and William Shales at Basra, 6 November, 1583, and 22 January, 1584; (4) and (5) John Newbery at Baghdad, 15 July, and at Basra, 15 August, 1583.

These letters—the task of copying which into the volume (Sanderson tells us) caused his apprentice, Hanger, to be 'very much moved and very colorique'—are of great importance as describing the early stages of that famous expedition which carried four of its members (Newbery, Ralph Fitch, William Leeds, and James Story) as far as India (see *Early Travels in India*, pp. 1–47). They were printed by Purchas in his *Pilgrimes* (vol. II, p. 1642) from copies supplied by Sanderson, who, we are there told, found them among Harborne's papers at Constantinople. To whom they were written is not stated, except that (according to Purchas) the first was addressed to 'G. S.'; apparently the second and third were to Harborne himself.

### Folio 224 *b*

Copy of a document in Italian, by which Paulo Mariani, consul for England in Egypt, appoints John Sanderson to be his vice-consul. Dated at Cairo, 25 May, 1585.

It is strange that Sanderson makes no allusion to this appointment, which seems to have been made in anticipation of his dispatch to Egypt. Possibly the document was never acted upon.

<sup>1</sup> A selection only, arranged as far as possible in order of date.

Folio 223 *b*

Copy of a commission (in Italian) from William Harborne to Paulo Mariani, Venetian, to be consul for England in Egypt, 29 June, 1585.

This may have been a re-appointment.

Folio 224 *a*

Copy of the oath thereupon taken by Mariani (in Italian).

Folio 224 *b*

Copy of a declaration by Mariano Mariani, the deputy of Paulo Mariani, that Sanderson is entitled to act as vice-consul in Alexandria and is not under the jurisdiction of Christofero Vento. Cairo, 10 August, 1585.

Folio 393 *a*

Copy of instructions (undated) from William Harborne to James Towerson, for the purchase of goods at 'Angurie of Azia' [i.e. Angora].

Folio 55 *b*

A description of the Spanish Armada, 1588.

A statement in Spanish of the composition of the fleet, giving the ships (with tonnage) in each squadron, the numbers on board, details of the provisioning of the fleet, and the names of the chief commanders; also a list of English and Irish gentlemen who accompanied the expedition.

Folio 53 *b*

Copy of letter from Thomas Candish [to Lord Hunsdon], 9 September, 1588, describing his voyage round the world.

Printed in Hakluyt (vol. xi, p. 376) and Purchas (vol. ii, chap. iv).

Folio 115 *a*

Statement (undated) furnished to Sir Francis Walsingham by William Harborne of 'the servise donne Hir Magestie and commonwealth by my longe and great travaile in findinge out the trade into Turkie.' At the end Harborne states that 'hetherto I have had of the merchaunts but 1200*li.*, wherof, to complie with

Hir Magesties greatnes accordinge to my place, I spent the one halfe.' He begs due consideration of his ten years' service, and beseeches to be relieved of 'my present povertie.'

An incomplete version is printed in the Hist. MSS. Commission's *Report on the Hatfield MSS.*, pt. XIII, p. 444.

Folio 56 *a*

Copy of letter from Sir Francis Walsingham to the Lord Mayor (Richard Martin), 29 June, 1589, enclosing an account of 'the successe of our navi in Portingall.'

This was the well-known expedition under Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris.

Folio 53 *a*

Copy of a letter from Queen Elizabeth, dated at Nonsuch, 21 March, 1590, to Edward Barton. Learning that the Grand Signor is preparing for war with the Poles, Her Majesty commands Barton to urge him to desist. England draws 'all kind of menition out of that contry,' and relies upon these supplies to carry on the war with Spain. When that war began, the Grand Signor promised assistance, but during the six years it has continued he has afforded no help. Now, 'if he take away our wepens and warlike munition,' he will disable the English and 'strengthen our comon enymie.'

With marginal note by Sanderson that 'uppon this letter the Great Turke made peace with the Poles.' See von Hammer, vol. II, p. 577.

Folio 116 *b*

'The interpretation of the Great Turks letter' to Queen Elizabeth, dated at Constantinople 12 'Sader' A.H. 998. It announces that, in consequence of Her Majesty's representations, the Sultan has concluded peace with Poland; in conclusion the Queen is urged to continue vigorously the war with Spain and the Sultan offers her his best assistance in that enterprise.

The letter is printed (both in Latin and English) by Hakluyt (vol. VI, pp. 69, 71), but with the omission of the clause relating to Spain. That such a clause was included is, however, corroborated by a version sent to Venice by the ambassador of that state (*Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. VIII, no. 947), where the date of the letter is given as 22 June, 1590 (N.S.). This agrees with the date in Hakluyt, which is 'in the ende of the moneth called Sabaum' and '1590 the 12 of June' (O.S.). 'Sader' above is an error for *Sha'bān*. Sanderson appends a note that 'Barton the ambassiator mad this peace.'

Folio 404 *b*

List (in Latin) of the thirty-nine provinces of the Turkish Empire governed by Beylerbeys, 1591.

Another copy will be found in Brit. Mus. *Nero B xi*, f. 117 *b*.

Folio 210 *a*

Copy of a letter in Italian from 'Meletius,' Patriarch of Alexandria, to Edward Barton, 26 May, 1593 (N.S.?), regarding the attempts of the Archbishop of Ephesus to procure the archbishopric of Smyrna as well.

A translation is given at f. 408 *a*.

Folio 390 *b*

Copy of a letter from Edward Barton to Sir Robert Cecil [9 November, 1595], on the political situation.

The original is available at the Public Record Office (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. III).

Folio 51 *a*

'Coppie of the Ambassiators pattent athorysinge John Sanderson his deputie in Constantinople the tim of his absence at the warrs of Hungaria, when Sultan Mahumett went in person.'

'For that it hath pleased the Grand Signor, uppon what designe best knowne to himselfe, that I should accompany him in thes Hungarish warrs; and being requisit, as well for the honnor of Hir Magestie and sutch Hir Highnes busines as might occure, as also for the benefitt of the Company and thier negotiation in the Levant passage, that I leave behind me a suffittient person, both to serve the one and subministrat unto the other, I have for the same causes ordeyned and made choyse of Signor John Sanderson, merchaunt, of whose former prudent goverment as I have had good tryall, so for his futur meynenance in the tearme of my absence, will and appoynt that he have two per cento, both inwards and outwards, of all sort of goods brought into this port of Constantinople by any Hir Magesties subjects; willinge and commaundinge them, in Hir Highnes name, to geve the said Signor John Sanderson just and due accountt of all sutch goods by them brought, without ether previe convayance or disobedient

refusall of this my order, as they will answeare the same at thier perrell. And for that it is to be thought the said too per cento will not suffice for his maintenance, we have thought it contionable to ordeyne, as we espetially committ by this present, that any sutch perticuler merchaunt which shall have nead of his industrye shall pay him the charge he shalbe at in his said perticuler service; as alike, yf for the company in generall shall occure occation of extraordinarye expence, as convayance of thier letters, expence at the Vicereies gate, or sutchlike, wee thinke it reson that sutch expences be defrayed by the generalitie of the company. And so concludinge, will and commaund you, in Hir Magesties name, that the premises in generall and perticuler be performed without any maner contradiction. Dated in Pera, this first July, 1596.'

Folio 141 b

'Coppie of the inventory of such things as remained in the house at the death of Master Edward Barton, Esquier, ambassiator at Constantinople, belonginge to the said deceased; weare prised and sould by and in the presence of the underwritten personns: Henry Lello (ambassiator); John Sanderson (treasurer for the Turkie Company); Paule Pinder (secretary); John Garraway (Gobo) (marchaunt); John Midnall (cuckold); Edward Barlie (enviouse makbate); David Bourne (trecherouse foole); William Pate (politique palterer); Charls Merrell (Puritan whoremonger); William Harris (simple felowe); Sampson Neweport (Papist mellowe). Robert Barton, 60 years ould, was also by when thes goods were sould<sup>1</sup>. Edward Barton, ambassiator, out of thes meltinge and juellinge[?], his funnerall discharged, died not wourth one asper.'

Folio 50 a

The oration delivered (in Turkish) to 'the Great Turke Sultan Mehemet' by Thomas Glover, the ambassador's secretary.

Presumably this was on the occasion of the delivery of the present in September 1599.

<sup>1</sup> The list shows the prices realized for the various items, totalling 70,770 aspers. A list is also given of 'goods not praysed,' the value of which is estimated at 1380 ducats of gold.

Folio 364 *b*

Certificate, dated 9 March, 1601, and signed by Sanderson, John Garraway, Edward Barley, and John Warren, that they had often heard Henry Lello, John Field, Robert Barton, James Calvin, and Peter Scott say that Edward Barton, the deceased ambassador, before his death, in the presence of themselves and others, declared his last wishes to be that all his effects should be sold, his funeral expenses discharged, and [the remainder ?] distributed among his servants, at the discretion of the said Field, who was to act as executor, and Lello as overseer<sup>1</sup>.

Folio 380 *b**Capitulations graunted to . . . Elizabeth, Queen of England<sup>2</sup> . . .*

In our Port, which is the refuge of all justice, succor, and happynes, and the which indeed is the cheife fountayne and place of all the princes of the world and refuge of all judges of the world, arived a ship with a present to us from the foresaid Queen by an honourable jentleman hir ambassador and others accompayning him; which present was by us most kindly accepted, and they frendly receved and intertayned. And weras in tim of our father of most happy memory, Sultan Morad, who by the merci-fullnes of God is cast downe and throwen into that blessed nest of Paradise, to him in his lifetime the said Queen did likewise send an ambassador to shewe one hir behalfe hir frendship, and to demand lycence for hir people and nation to com and goe and traffique into his dominions; which imperiall lycence was by him graunted by regall comandments, that they myght com and goe by sea or by land, and to have free passaige by all passaiges and liberty of lodgings, without any disturbe or molestation. Now likewise, accordinge to the sencere frendship that was between them, the said Queen hath written hir frendly letters to our Port, which is the refuge of all justice, that we would likewise confirme

<sup>1</sup> Opposite is entered a receipt given by Robert Barton to Sanderson, 4 May, 1601, for 106 chequins, paid to him by Lello's order out of the estate of his kinsman, on account of six years spent in his service 'and his desier upon his deathbedd.'

<sup>2</sup> As noted in the Introduction, the date of this important document was March or April 1601.

d establish the same frendship with hir as we have done with  
er princes, the French, Venecians, and Pooles and others,  
io in like manner have written ther frendly letters to our  
yghtye throne to the same effect, that all ther subjects, mer-  
ants, and others whatsoever myght freely com and goe, traf-  
que and merchandize within our dominions; which frendship  
e have confirmed with like frindly and imperiall capitulations  
id noble comandments, as were graunted to them by our fore-  
id father of happy memory. So likewise, at the request of the  
resaid Queen, whose letters have ben redd at our imperiall  
rone and hir sencer frindship in our presence amply declared  
nd signified (which was to us very acceptable and tooke good  
ffect) [we] doe graunt unto hir subjects as free pryveledges and  
berties as are graunted to any the foresaid prynces, with reno-  
acion of the former capitulations graunted by our said father, as  
lso what ells is by us added in theis our imperiall capitulations  
f justice; which we do comand to be observed and mayntained.  
And therfore, accordinge to the said Queen hir request, it is by  
is graunted and comanded as followeth:

1. Inprimis, yt is concluded, accordinge to the request made  
oy the ambassador in the behalfe of his said Queen, that all  
English merchants and others whatsoever traffiquinge into my  
dominions under the banner of the said Queen of England shal  
pay no custome upon chekins, dollers, or other mony they shall  
bringe into my sayde dominions; and that my Beglerbeges,  
Cadies, Tefterdares, and Æmines [superintendents: *emin*] of my  
Mynt shall not molest or disturbe them, alleadinge that they  
will have the sam to stamp or cutt into aspers and after pay them  
therwith.

2. Item, that besides [i.e. except] gunpoweder and other cer-  
tayne good[s] prohibited, it shalbe lawfull for them to lade all  
goods whatsoever, without disturbance of any.

3. Item, if any English shippinge, for avoydinge of danger of  
the Strayghts of Giblator or other impediment, be stayed in ther  
voyadge for England, it shalbe lawfull for them to traffique and  
merchandize within any my dominions, whersoever it please  
them, without any contradiction or molestation.

4. Item, that all Englishmen, and others under the English



banner, havinge any difference or sute, the sam shall not be hard or ajudget, except their drogermen or procurators be present. And also, if the sam sute doe amount to more then the som of 4000 aspers, it shalbe hard and ditermynd in no other place, but sent up hether to my happy throne.

5. Item, that within my dominions no English consull, appointed for the governinge and defending of their nation, shalbe imprisoned or molested in any sute, deprived, or his house sealed up, untill ars [see p. 170 n] be made first unto my happy Port and the English ambassador advised, to thend he may answer any cause alleadged against him.

6. Item, that if any Englishman or other under ther banner, havinge any goods or faculty<sup>1</sup>, shall dye within my dominions, the Petimaghae, or other my officers, shall not meddle therwith, sayinge they are the goods of the dead (or absent).

7. Item, that all such comandments that are heretofore, or shall be hereafter, granted to the English nation, or any other under the[ir] banner, which are for ther good and benefitt, it shalbe of effect and for[c]e, [provided ?] that it may not seeme to infringe this our capitulations; and that the Casamees<sup>2</sup> and Cadies shall not demand the tenth, called Cismett<sup>3</sup>.

8. Item, that the English consull[s], accordinge to custom, may entertaine such drogermen and ganesaryes as they thinke good to serve them; and that no ganesary or other whatsoever shall impatch or intrude himselfe into there service.

9. Item, that every one where he dwelleth, for ther provision of themselves and famylie, may buy grapes and make wyne in ther houses, and non to interupt or molest them.

10. Item, that none of my slaves, ganesaryes, or other whatsoever shall demand or take of the English nation anythinge perforce, nether molest nor trouble them.

11. Item, that in Alepo, Scandrone, and other places within my dominions the Englishmen and all that are under their banner, havinge once paid their custom, non shall demand or exact

<sup>1</sup> Pecuniary means (a term now obsolete).

<sup>2</sup> A *qassām* was a judicial officer, whose duty it was to divide up estates according to the Sheri' law.

<sup>3</sup> *Qysmat*, a tithe.

on[e] asper or mangure<sup>1</sup> more; nether shall ther be anythinge demanded of them for and in the name of cassopatche<sup>2</sup>.

12. Item, that wheras the ambassadors of the Quen of England and Kinge of Fraunce now resident in my happy Port have had a longe and great difference for the protectinge of merchants, Flemings, traffiquinge within my dominions, and contendinge for the same have ethier of them presented ars at my imperiall sterrope, both which were comanded, under my hatmahim [see p. 275 n] to the judgment and determynation of that honorable, myghtie, laudable, and most pratticke [i.e. experienced] in the world, my slave Sinan Bassa, heretofore my Cheife Vizerey and now my Grand Captane and Vizerey (whose prosperitie God preserve), who signified that the Fleminges ought to be ordayned and graunted to the Queen of England, for which it were necessary to geve my imperiall letters. The said Captane beinge governor and pratticke of sea causes, all my other most noble vizereys thought it likewise most convenient to graunt it, accordinge to the Captane Bassa his opinion; wherof they all presented ars to my myghtie throne. Therefore, accordinge to the opinione of the said Captane, as also of all the others of my noble vizereys, it is commanded that all merchants of the contries of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, Frizland, and Gilderland shall and ought to trafique and com under the banner of the Queen of England, as freely as English merchants themselves, payenge their consoledge and other revenues, aswell of their owne proper goods as any other whatsoever they shall lade in their ships, to the ambassador of the foresaid Queen of England. And that hereafter the French ambassador shall not impatch or geve any troble therin, this being my comand under my imperiall hatmahim, which is to be dwly observed, accordinge to my imperyll capitulations; and for ever herafter the said Fleminges shall com under the English banner and as English merchants pay the accustomed consoledge to the Inglish consulls; and that the French ambassador, French consulls, or other his people by no means give any troble or molestation [to] the said Fleminges.

<sup>1</sup> Turkish *mangir*, a small brass or copper coin. 'Sixteene brasse mangouri made one silver asper' (Moryson, vol. 1, p. 293).

<sup>2</sup> Turkish *kashshâf-aqcheh*, i.e. 'inspector's money,' the fee due to the customs officer.

13. Item, that no comandment shalbe taken forth that may vyolate or be in prejudice or breach of theis my articles, my fayth geven and notted in these my imperiall capitulations, untill that the ambassador of the Queen of England who resideth in my happy Port be first advised, to thend he may answer the causes and allegacions therof.

14. Item, that the English merchants in Aleppo, Cayro, and other my dominions, merchandizinge accordinge to the antient custom, shall pay for all goods but 3 per cento and no more.

15. Item, that all such goods which shalbe laden in ther ships, havinge once paid custome in one port, and not selling it ther but transportinge it to som other ports within my dominions, no custome shalbe demanded another tim for the sam.

16. Item, that all English shippinge ladinge and reladinge within my dominions shall pay consoldge of all such goods they have paid custome for, to the English consulls.

17. Item, fynally, that the English merchants and others of there nation, of all such goods they bringe or buy in my contery (not beinge prohibited), may sell and transport the sam, as well by sea as by land, and by the river Tana [Don] to the contry of Azak [Azov], Moscovia, and Russia, and into all other places within my dominions; as also they may traffique, buy, and sell into the conteries of Persia which we have conquered with our sword; and to transport and recary, and non shall molest nor troble them. And of such goods as they shall carry or recarry out of these places of Persia which we have gotten as aforesaid, payeng the antient custom, which beinge once knowen ever after to continew the sam rate and no more. And that all such shippes as are to com to Constantinople, if by contrary winds they shalbe dryven into Raffa [*sic*] or whatsoever other port in those parts, and not willinge to sell there goods ther, that none compell them to unlade or take out any goods, nor disturbe nor molest their ships or people. Or beinge in any troublesom or dangerous place, the govonors therof shall apoint men to guard and keepe ther ships and goods, to thend no hurt come unto them; and they [shall] permytt them freely to buy all such victualls as they shall need, for ther mony. Or if they will take any choches [i.e. coaches], carres, or vessells to laid ther goods in another, not

havinge taken the same before, no man shall lett [i.e. hinder] or troble them. And for those goods that shalbe brought from those parts to Constantinople, untill they doe unlade or sell the sam, or com unto Constantinople, they shall pay no custome; and cominge thether, and havinge dispatched their busines, may depart quietly and saifely without disturbe. Finis.

## Folio 51 b

A note of money owing to Sanderson on his return from Jerusalem. 'Mad [Anthony] Marlowe, 3*li.*; Edward Abbott, 3*li.*; Bartholmewe Haggett, 2*li.*; Georg Dorrington, 3*li.*; Alexander Harris, 6*li.*; Charles Merrell, 2*li.* 10*s.*; Elizeus Sotherne, 2*li.* That knave Master John Eldred had of me Merrels bill, but cosened me therof and paid me not a peny, though by his k[ins]man Merrell he gayned mutch.'

A copy of Marlow's acknowledgment of the debt is prefixed. It is dated at Aleppo, 14 Nov. 1597, and Marlow is described as 'of London, goldsmith.' The money is to be paid in England on Sanderson's arrival there.

## Folio 58 b

Draft bond for a loan, dated 4 March, 1603, to be sealed and delivered in the presence of John Milton, 'scrivener.'

The money is to be paid 'at the nowe shop of John Milton, scrivener, in Bread Street, London.' It may be noted that a bill of sale and a bond, copies of which are given on f. 364 a, were both witnessed by 'Peter Jones, servant to John Milton, scrivener.' The latter was of course the poet's father.

## Folio 373 b

Copy of a letter from James I, dated at 'Yalyrud [Holyrood] House,' 28 March, 1603, to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, thanking them for proclaiming him King of England.

Printed in Stow's *Annales*, p. 817.

## Folio 142 a

Particulars of goods (broadcloth, tin, furs, etc.) laden by Nicholas Salter aboard the *Costly*, 10 April, 1604. 'In this said 215*li.* 7*s.* 10*d.* I, John Sanderson, adventured 300*li.*; and 22*li.* I disboursd for assuerance. So [of ?] that 322*li.* I was out some five or six years befor the last some (which was 50*li.*) returned

to my purse. And yet of the whole some principally disboursed I lost 20s.; and so gave up all trad into the Streights.'

Folio 58 *b*

Copy of precept from Drapers' Hall to J. S., 28 August, 1604, for payment of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* towards the loan to His Majesty. With a receipt for the amount, and a note that the money was repaid, and the bill surrendered to the Company, in December 1606.

In 1604 King James demanded a loan of 15,000*l.* from the City Companies. The Drapers' share was 1152*l.*, and was duly collected from its members. The loan was repaid two years later. (See Johnson's *History of the Drapers' Company*, vol. III, p. 69.)

Folio 116 *a*

Copy of a letter from Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, to [Lord Cranborne?], Bishopthorpe, 18 December, 1604. It states that he will carry out the directions of the Privy Council regarding the Puritans and that he wishes that measures were also taken against Papists and recusants.

Folio 365 *b*

Programme of the disputation held at Oxford University on 28 and 29 August, 1605, in the presence of King James, with the subjects for debate and the names of those taking part.

Thomas Sanderson was granted the degree of D.D. in May 1605, but possibly it was not actually conferred upon him until August. Our author was probably present.

Folio 359 *a*

'Monday the 20th of October 1606. John Sanderson did sett a tree in Morefields. It is that toward the waule, next unto Sir L. Halidaies within the same raile. His is the very corner tree. His sonns [i.e. John Halliday's] is the other next to his, towards Bedlem, also within the said raile. Triangle three together, as it weare. Be this for remembrance therof.'

In the margin Sanderson has drawn a tree, and on the opposite page has added this diagram:

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Cecil became Viscount Cranborne in August 1604 and Earl of Salisbury in May 1605.



Folio 369 *a*

A note of presents made by J. S. to various Lord Mayors and Sheriffs.

Folio 369 *b*

'A memorandum of gifts bestowed one Master Nicholas Salter and his wife....But finding them so ungratfull for gloves given, I have done giving.'

Folio 207 *b*

'Copie of the oath taken at Jerusalem by those that desier ther to be knighted. A Jarman gentillman delivered it to me, who had bine ther in company of John Eldred, who, he said, was knighted.'

An interesting account of the Knights of the Sepulchre—a distinction conferred by the Padre Guardiano—is given by Sandys (p. 124), who says that their badge was 'the Jerusalem Cross, representing thereby the five wounds that violated the body of our Saviour.' Of this emblem Sanderson supplies (f. 127 *a*) the sketch reproduced below.



It was for long a practice among Christians visiting the Holy Land to have this cross tattooed on wrist or arm (Maundrell, p. 100; Sandys, p. 156; and Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, vol. iv, p. 257). Tom Coryat was one of those who adopted this sign (Terry's *Voyage to East-India*, p. 61); and it is said that the late King Edward, when he visited Jerusalem in 1869, conformed to the custom (James Douglas's *Bombay and W. India*, vol. 1, p. 319 *n*).

Folio 392 *a*<sup>1</sup>

*The wayght of Allepo and Tripolie.* The qintall of Allepo makes 5 qintalls at once<sup>2</sup>, and 5 $\frac{1}{3}$  at Mercells [Marseilles], and is 180 okes. At Constantinople also 100 rotulas<sup>3</sup> is a kintall. The qintall of Amane [Hamah] is as great as that of Alepo. The quintall of Tripol[i]e mackes but 4 kintalls  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Mer[c]elles. So that the quintall of Allepo makes of ouer [i.e. our] waight great 4 c[wt]. 0 qrs. 00 li., and the qintall of Tripolie makes of ouer weight

<sup>1</sup> A careless copy in Hanger's handwriting.

<sup>2</sup> At Constantinople, where apparently these notes were made.

<sup>3</sup> Arabic *ratl*, equivalent in general to about an English pound.

great 3 c[wt]. 2 qrs. 08 li. The rotula of Tripolie mackes 4 li. suddell [i.e. net] of our weyght and better. The rotula of Alepo in tinn is almost 5 li. suddell, sterling waight; and to sell it for 32 medins a rotula is 5 ducketts  $\frac{1}{2}$  per li., charges ther paid. The weyght of Tripolie is 18 li. per cento lesse then that at Allepo. Twelve oz. makes a rottula, and a chucolle is 27 rotulas. The fust [i.e. cask] of sope at Tripolie is 21 kintalls nett [wett ?] and 17 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  dried. To carie good[s] per camells from Tripolie to Alepo, the kintall of Alepo will cost 3 ducketts  $\frac{1}{2}$  per [camel ?]. A camell will cary 500 li. waight sterling. To charie goods per meyll<sup>1</sup> from Tripol[i]e to Alepo, the kintall of Allepo will cost 4 ducketts, and a moylle will charie 16 peces [of] kes<sup>rs</sup><sup>2</sup>.

The custom of tinn at Tripolie is 3 per cento, and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  at Allepo, as it shalbe rated in the customehouse. The costom of kersies at Tripolie is 6 medins a peece, and at Alepo 8 medins. The custome of cloths at Tripolie 50 medins a peece, and 60 medins a peece at Alepo. The custom of goods hom[e]wards is divers. Some maye s[p]end lesse; but of spice is 21 per cento, savinge peper and ginger. In payinge custome you lose 5 medins upon every duckett. Salles of kes<sup>rs</sup> is comonly 5 ducketts  $\frac{1}{2}$  per li.<sup>3</sup>, charges ther paid. The tare of galles at Allepo is 5 per cento, cauled Alepins. At Amane ther is no tare allowed. At Tripolye ther is 10 li. per cento allowed for tare, cauled Pesans<sup>4</sup>; which sort sarves best for our contry. The tare of maces and cloves is 10 li. per cento; for nutts [*sic*] and dust and for sarplers skins etc. as you can agree, comonly 19 li. or 20 li. per cento. The tare of nutts [nutmegs] is 5 li. per cento; for dust, etc. The rotula of raw silke at Alepo makes her[e] in London 3 li. of our great weyght of 24 ozes. per pound.

## Folio 393 a

[*Weights at Constantinople.*] One hundredweyght of Ingland loseth 8 li. to make the quintall of Constantinople, and some-

<sup>1</sup> An error for 'moylle,' i.e. mule.

<sup>2</sup> This contraction, which is repeated a few lines below, may possibly mean 'kersies.'

<sup>3</sup> If 'kersies' be the commodity intended, this must be a slip, as they would hardly be sold by weight.

<sup>4</sup> Something seems to have been omitted here.



what more. 44 okes is a quintall. 400 drams is an oke<sup>1</sup>. 100 luders is a quintall. 176 drams is a luder. 2 luders and 48 drams is an oke. 4 quintalls and 4 okes of this place is a quintall of tinne of Alepo.

Folio 392 *b*<sup>2</sup>

*Monny at Tripolie.* A duckett is 40 medins. A chekins is 42 medins. A sayd [saye ?] is 4 medins  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Two aspers is one medine. Five drams<sup>3</sup> makes a medine. A caratt is 1 medin  $\frac{1}{2}$ . 90 realls of platte [i.e. silver] is a pesoe and waied [worth ?] 8 ducketts  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 12 medins, now 16. Att Amand William Barrett sould a rioall<sup>4</sup> of Spaigne for 4 medins. One riall of Spayne is 6 gasitts  $\frac{1}{2}$  candiamay; and 88 gasitts<sup>5</sup> is a duckett of 40 medins.

*Monny at Allepo*<sup>6</sup>. A duckett is 40 medins corant. A chekins is 48 medins. A saye is 5 medins. Two aspers is  $\frac{1}{2}$  is [sic] one medin. 90 realls of platt is a peso, and a peso is wourth 9 ducketts 10 medins (beinge wayght, or else not). A doller (being weyght) is 32 medins.

Folio 145 *a*

'A Songe of a fine Skott (geven me by Sir H. Boyer).'

A satirical ballad, ridiculing the Scotsmen who followed King James to London. There are thirteen verses of six lines each; the first begins 'How now, Joky, whether away,' and the last ends 'Joky wilbe no gentillman.'

Folio 357 *b*

'The Affection of a Friend.' 'Thes weare made by Master Seager<sup>7</sup>, Kinge of Herroulds, at the buriall of Sir Wm. Stone, Knight. He put some 200 or 3[00 copies ?] in a private place, which after came to light. A frendly, gentelmanly, and most honest and good part of a good indeed man.'

<sup>1</sup> Still, in Turkey, 400 drams (Arabic *dirham*) make an oke (Turkish *öqah*), and 44 okes a cantar (Arabic *qintār*).

<sup>2</sup> This also is in Hanger's handwriting.

<sup>3</sup> A *dirham* was a small silver coin as well as a weight.

<sup>4</sup> A single rial, not a rial of eight.

<sup>5</sup> The small Venetian coin known as a *gazzetta*.

<sup>6</sup> Teixeira, speaking (p. 115) of the coins struck at Aleppo, says: 'the silver coins are xays [i.e. *shāhis*], ten to one real of eight, and madines, of five to one xay.'

<sup>7</sup> Sir William Segar, the well-known herald and writer. He was made Garter King-of-Arms in 1603, and knighted in 1616.

Twenty-one lines of verse, the initials forming the words SIR WILLIAM STONE, KNIGHT. They begin 'Sorrow, speake treuth,' and end 'in Heavens blis.'

## Folio 379 a

'A dedicatory and conciliatorie Epistle to an Earle or Lord in prison,' by John Davies of Hereford.

There are seventy-four verses of four lines each, the first beginning 'While yet thou liest in afflictions fire,' and the last ending 'For thou art fast and free.' The poem appeared in *The Muse's Sacrifice* in 1612, and was reprinted in Dr Grosart's edition of the works of Davies, vol. II, section L, p. 80. The person addressed was Henry, ninth Earl of Northumberland, who was tried for treason in 1606 and sentenced to imprisonment for life in the Tower. He was released fifteen years later.

## Folio 360 b

[Lines] 'written by Leondes Thickepenie, minister; three years prisoner; deceased in the Kinges Bench the 25th of January 1590 [i.e. 1591], and after caried to Master Wrath his gate, and ther lefte.'

Sixteen lines, beginning 'Wrathe thou art cauled,' and ending 'So wilbe thy reward.'

## Folio 361 b

'The Lementation of Dickey for his brother Jockey. A most lewde, liing, and vild libell, by Pickeringe, Puritan.' 'I heard this matter debated in the Starr Chamber, and Pickeringe was fined at 1000*l.* and imprisonment at the Kinges pleasure, after he had lost his ears one the pillory, one at Croydon, the other in Cheapeside, by the sentence of the Lords. But the Kings Magistie pardoned all, as is thought, for after he wente to the Fleete no more was spoken of him.'

The libel was on Archbishop Whitgift, and was affixed to his hearse at his funeral at Croydon on 27 March, 1604.

## Folio 374 b

'A Libell of the London Phesitions.' 'This I had of Master Nicholas Salter to coppie.'

A scurrilous effusion of forty-two lines, beginning 'Ladies, now glad yee,' and ending 'in the absence of spruce Master Younge.' Eighteen London doctors are introduced by name.

## APPENDICES

### A

#### A NOTE ON COINS USED IN TURKEY<sup>1</sup>

On this topic Sanderson gives us no direct statement. He mentions of course the two kinds of coins which (in addition to some brass or copper coins of small value) were the official currency, viz. the gold *altun* or 'soltanin' (as he calls it), and the silver 'asper' (*akcheh*); and on p. 276 *a* of the MS. he describes the latter as 'littell peces of silver, som redish, som whittish, stamped with Turkish wourds, as bigge as English half pence.' His contemporary, George Sandys, is rather more explicit. He says (p. 60) that the Turkish government 'hath only two sorts of coyn—the sultanie and asper. The sultanie is equal in value to the Venice zecceene, and six score aspers amount to a sultanie; called rather aspro, of the whiteness therof, in that consisting of silver.' On p. 21 he adds that twenty aspers 'are near upon a shilling'; and on p. 90, in speaking of Alexandria, he mentions the local currency of 'madeins,' thirty of which are, he says, equivalent to a Spanish rial of eight. A fuller account is given by Humphrey Conisby, from whose manuscript, written in 1600 (see p. 186 *n*), we may quote the following: 'Aspers are of two sortes—lesser and bigger. The lesser ar neither so good nor so faire, but more common. The bigger are of better silver, and with these is the wages of the soldiers and courtiers payed. An asper is now neer the valew of our halfpenny; the present rates of money altering from the past, and that specially for the new taxes raised in Constantinople in respect of the Persian warre. Then likewise was the ould currant money prohibited, for that it was stampd with divers figures forbidden by Mahomets law; but the trew reason was bicause, it being good silver and newly melting it with worse, the treasure[r ?] and officers came therby to gaine exceedingly. Now the aspers be moste of them counterfet, of bras washt over with silver; some so thin and light that they will swim on the top of the water. And there are few bassaes that have not their secret minte. Those Egiptian pieces of Cairo of three aspers apece are the only certaine good ones, for they are all silver indeed; but they be but few, and now stampd no more. In Torky now they coyne but two sortes of money (beside bras)—the single asper and the sultanine. The asper silver: the sultanine gould, very fine and pure, and stampd, as the asper, with Arabian carecters.

<sup>1</sup> For an excellent article on this subject by the late Mr F. W. Hasluck see *he Numismatic Chronicle*, fifth series, vol. 1, p. 39.

It is named sultanine of the Sultani (Turkish emperours)... This piece, for Gould and weight, is just as the Venetian zickeen, or Duch or Polish hungar, or the Spanish peeces that pas among us, which we cal duckets, stampt upon thone side with two heades of Ferdinand and Isabel. One of these the last yere ran for 180 aspers, whiche, counting an asper for a halfpenny, comes to 7s. 6d. English... A dollor is nere 5s. sterlinge.'

We gather that in dealings between Turks and foreigners the asper was the chief unit of currency, the *sultāni* being little used. For actual payments in gold, recourse was largely had to foreign currency, particularly to the Venetian *zecchino* (chequin), the constant weight and purity of which made it a favourite medium of exchange. The Turkish *sultāni*, the Hungarian gold dollar ('hungar'), the Italian *scudo*, and the Spanish ducat were all of the same weight as the *zecchino*, and we gather from Sanderson that they all passed at the same value, for he seems to lump them together as 'gold ducats.' He also mentions a silver ducat, a term which similarly appears to cover the Spanish rial of eight, the German thaler, the Italian piastre, and the French crown. These were larger coins than the gold ducat, and the ratio between them was roughly three silver ducats to two gold ones.

There was no fixed ratio between the *sultāni* and the asper, and the fluctuations in the value of the latter were considerable, owing to the action of the Turkish government in debasing its purity by the admixture of brass. This, however, created so much discontent, especially among the soldiery, that from time to time the authorities endeavoured to raise its value. An instructive entry on p. 372 *b* of Sanderson's manuscript shows that the rent of the English house at Galata from March to September 1599 was paid at the rate of 140 aspers to the gold ducat; from September 1599 to March 1600, at 160; and from March 1600 to March 1601, at 120—this last being the ratio which had obtained five years earlier (f. 62 *a*).

Since there was no direct exchange between English money and other currencies in the Levant (the exportation of English coins being strictly forbidden), their relative values cannot be fixed with any certainty. In 1590 the gold ducat was taken as equivalent to 6s. 8d. (*S.P., Turkey*, vol. II, nos. 14 and 21). Dallam in 1599 (*Early Voyages*, p. 88) reckons the *zecchino* at 9s., and Lithgow in 1610 gives it the same value. Conisby, as we have seen, assesses the gold ducat at 7s. 6d., and this appears to be as near as one can get. Sanderson nowhere gives us a clear lead, though on p. 267 he mentions that the exchange value in London of the *zecchino* was over 7s.

## B

## THE DEATH OF EDWARD BARTON

The manner of Barton's death has been variously related. His sister, Mrs Lough, fantastically alleged in 1624 that he was poisoned by the Turkish nobles, who feared that his influence with the Sultan would lead to the latter's conversion to Christianity (Hewins' *English Trade and Finance*, p. 45). The writer of the notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography* concluded that Barton had taken refuge on the island of Halki from the plague then ravaging Constantinople: that he nevertheless contracted the disease: and that the date of his decease (in his thirty-fifth year) was 15 December, 1597. The letters now printed (pp. 174, 175) show that the cause of death was dysentery, and that it took place at the capital, though the body was thereupon carried, with much ceremony, to the waterside and transported to Halki for interment, in accordance with the wish of the deceased (p. 85).

The actual date of death is difficult to determine. I have not found, at the Public Record Office or elsewhere, any contemporary English document giving this information; and our chief authority on the point is the inscription on the tomb, still to be seen at Halki. Mr Bent furnished a copy of this in *Early Voyages* (p. xii), in which the date appeared as 'MDXCVII XVIII KAL. JANUAR.'; and it was on that authority that the *Dictionary of National Biography* fixed it as 15 December. Subsequently the *English Historical Review* (vol. VII, p. 116) printed a communication from Sir William White giving a different version of the inscription, in which the date was shown as 'MDXCVII CALENDIS JANUAR.' This led the late Mr H. F. Brown to conclude (*Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. IX, p. xliii) that the correct date was 1 January (though by a slip he made the year 1597 instead of 1598). To settle the question, I wrote to Mr C. A. W. Were, the acting British Consul-General at Constantinople; and he very kindly went over to Halki and made a fresh copy of the inscription, which confirmed Mr Bent's reading of the date, though differing in other parts of the text. Mr Were added the interesting information that 'the tombstone lies in a small cemetery attached to what was formerly a Greek orphanage, but the building has now been taken over by the Turkish Government. The stone is raised some two feet from the ground, and this seems to indicate that it is now in its original position over the grave. It is, considering the lapse of time, in excellent condition.'

Had the above information stood alone, there would have been no hesitation in accepting 15 December as the date of death. But in the *Cal. S.P., Ven.*, vol. IX, we find (nos. 647, 655) abstracts of two letters

from the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople, which raise a doubt as to its accuracy. The first of these, dated 31 December, 1597, refers to certain activities on the part of Barton and makes no mention even of his illness; the second, dated 28 January, 1598, announces his death and burial. These dates are New Style, corresponding in the Old Style to 21 December and 18 January respectively; but even this does not remove our difficulty. If Barton had died on 15 December, how could his colleague, writing six days later, have been ignorant of the fact?

There remains the possibility that either the author of the inscription made a mistake in the date, or that the local stonemason, who evidently worked without supervision, failed to follow correctly the text with which he had been supplied. Dr Covell, who visited the tomb in February 1677, noted that the inscription was 'cut by a Turk, and thence came all the mistakes in the writing' (*Early Voyages*, p. 282); while all three modern versions show that there are several errors in spelling. If we suppose that the mason put XVIII in mistake for VIII, our difficulty disappears. This, however, is mere surmise; and in the light of our present information, all that we can say is that the death appears to have occurred in the latter part of December 1597.

## C

### JOHN MIDNALL'S VOYAGE IN THE BLACK SEA

The first English trading voyage in the Black Sea has been mentioned at pp. 261, 262. The second, which has the added interest that it constitutes a hitherto unknown incident in the career of John Midnall, is thus described in a letter from Sir Thomas Glover to Lord Salisbury of 19 May, 1610 (P.R.O.: *S.P.*, *Turkey*, vol. VI, f. 160): 'Of late here hath bin an avania or scandole made uppon one John Midnall, English merchante, whoe, beinge desyerous to finde out a trade into the Blacke Sea, to a towne called Trabisonda [Trebizond] and thence by land into Giorgia and the Kinge of Persia his countrie, requested me to procure him his free passe and to give him my best furtherance to prosecute his designe. In conformitie of whose requeste I have procured him his passporte and manie other thinges necessarie for his beste securitie. This merchante, beinge soe furnished and assured of his safegard, hyred a small boate of purpose to carrie him with his other two fellowes, English youths, and all such small store of goods and monies as he had for to carrie for the sayed towne of Trabisonda; and beinge cleared from the Customers and from all other taxations whatsoever, imbarcked himselfe and departed from the porte. But

before he could reach 20 miles on his course, by the instigation of some of our secret enemies here (though openlie they professe great freindship, as the French and Venetians) the Vizerey Murat Bassa hath sent a commission after him for his returninge backe agayne and to confiscat all his goods and monies, alleadginge that under cullor of merchandizinge he was a spey unto the Kinge of Persia; and noe other reason had they for it onlie that he could speake the Persian tounge. Thus this poore merchante, beinge soe returned to his disgrace and his goods confiscated, I could not but besturre myselfe therin extraordinarie. And comminge before Murat Bassa within his pavillion, soughte at the firste by fayre wordes and intreaties to cleare our merchante of the scandole rayzed uppon him; but seeinge gentle wordes and perswasions with a barbarous persone could not prevayle, enforced me to be playne with him; and allbeit in the end, with much adoe, cleared the sayed merchante and recovered all his monies and goods, yet not without extreame bickeringe of wordes and blatteringes<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> To 'blatter' was to 'prate volubly.'

## ADDENDUM

to note 1 on page 35.

While the present work was passing through the press, there appeared a detailed account of *The Ancient Plate of the Drapers' Company*, by Miss M. A. Greenwood. In this will be found (p. 34) a full account, with an illustration, of the basin and ewer presented by Sanderson.







# INDEX

- Aaron, sons of, 99  
 Abana, river, 96  
 'Abbāsiya, 43  
 Abbot, Edward, 287; at Aleppo, 15(2)<sup>1</sup>, 172, 175, 192; goes to Jerusalem, 105*n*, 209, 214-16; goes home, 215; desires post as consul at Aleppo, 270; his bankruptcy, 241, 273; Glover and, 271, 276; portrait of, 177; letters from, 172, 174; letters to, 177, 209, 214  
 Abbot, George, Bishop of London and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, 17*n*, 236, 272  
 Abbot, (Sir) Morris, 17, 252; character and influence of, 252, 270  
 Abbot, Dr Robert, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, 236  
 'Abd-al-Halīm. *See* Kara Yazidji  
 Abdimeleck, 106  
 Abdy, Anthony, 205, 259, 260, 271; his marriage, 205*n*, 271; letter to, 229  
 Abner, tomb of, 113  
 Abraham, the Patriarch, 101, 113; tomb of, 112  
 Absalom, tomb of, 105  
 Abukir, 40; Sanderson at, 46, 50, 53  
 Abydos, 38*n*, 62  
 Acon, 118  
 Adam, tomb of, 112  
 Adam's figs, 48  
 Adana, 63, 154  
 Adelantado of Castile, the, 180  
 Adige, the, 91, 92  
 Admiral, Lord. *See* Nottingham, Earl of  
 Adonai, 120  
 Adrianople, 71, 76, 149(2), 151, 169, 253  
 Aesop, 84  
 Affamata, Juda, 247  
 Agar, Thomas, 24(2), 31, 31*n*  
 Agulia, at Constantinople, 74-6; at Rome, 74  
 Ahab, 99; his sons, 98, 99  
 Ahmad Pasha, 74  
 Aigdel, 118  
 'Ain 'Ata, 118  
 'A'isha, Princess, 74, 130  
 Aiwan Serai, 80, 81  
 Ajem oghlan, 83(2), 88, 89, 89*n*, 224  
 Alchemy, 13  
 Aldermen's Walk, 266  
 Aldrich, Jonas, 14, 149, 168; consul at Patras, 144, 203, 205; in England, 241, 258; wishes to be consul at Aleppo, 263, 269, 270; goes to Patras, 270, 271; Lello and, 263, 271; quarrels with Sanderson, 14(2), 151, 269, 273, 275; agent for Cordell, 14, 144, 146; letters to, 206, 250*n*  
 Aldrich, William, 9, 10, 56*n*, 149(2); at Constantinople, 12, 13, 17, 181, 182; letter from, 190; letter to, 184; his death, 18  
 Aleppo, *passim*; Pasha and other officials at, 63, 154, 170, 186, 188, 244; Murād Pasha at, 244; castle at, 244; plague at, 221; trade at, 160, 165, 172, 176, 184, 189, 196, 208, 215; customs duties at, 291; weights and money at, 290, 292; goods from, 132, 136, 137, 169; Sanderson at, 14, 15, 63, 173, 214; English consuls at, *see* Colthurst, Eldred, Fitch, Haggett, Pindar, Sandy, and Towerson; vice-consul at, *see* Dorrington (George); treasurer at, 146, 147; chaplains at, *see* Biddulph and May; disputes at, 147, 151-5, 158, 159, 161, 164, 166, 167, 169-71; English house at, 167; Dutch at, 188; French at, 148, 150; Spaniards at, 150; Venetians at, 15, 148, 170; letters from, 147, 150, 151, 154(2), 158, 164, 169, 171, 172, 174-6, 186, 187, 210, 215; letters to, 130, 145, 159, 173, 175, 177, 186, 189, 191, 198, 202, 209, 213, 214, 217, 229  
 Alexander, Waiwode of Walachia, 88*n*  
 Alexander the Great, 56, 63  
 Alexandretta. *See* Scanderoon

<sup>1</sup> This signifies two references on the same page.

- Alexandria, 131, 157, 209, 262, 278;  
described, 39-41; water supply of,  
40; coinage of, 294; plague at, 4,  
137, 138; Bey of, 4, 39, 39*n*, 127;  
Patriarch of, *see* Milesius; customs  
rates at, 132; English trade at, 53,  
209, 214; French at, 129*n*; Vene-  
tians at, 40, 52, 132-4, 136; San-  
derson at, 3, 4, 39, 46, 50, 51, 53,  
131, 278
- Algiers, 5, 30, 51, 84, 187, 214; con-  
sul at, 10, 12, 13, 237
- Ali Pasha, 170(2)
- Allen, Anna, xxxviii, xxxix, 34, 35
- Allen, Edmund, xxxviii, xxxix, 34,  
35(4)
- Almenia, 114
- Almonds, 133
- Aloÿsa, 94
- Altham, James, 190, 212
- Altun, 294
- Alvais, river, 91
- Alvo, Abram, 120, 125
- Amasia, 188*n*
- Amber, trade in, 134(2), 227, 228,  
231, 233; beads, 134
- Ambrose, John, 56*n*
- Amians, William, 202
- Amâr-el-Haj*, 45, 52
- Ammergau, 64, 91, 92
- Amsterdam, 190
- Anatolia, 96*n*; rebellion in, 253,  
256, 261, 262, 265(2)
- Andernach, 64
- Anderson, Sir Henry, xxin, 18,  
166*n*
- Andrews, Lancelot, Bishop, 85, 272
- Angel*, the, 176, 198, 235, 236
- Angelo, Cape, 37
- 'Angels,' 7
- Angora, 278; siege of, 244
- Aniseeds, 56; price of, 131*n*
- Anne, wife of James I, 253
- Antioch, 15, 63; plain of, 118
- 'Antique,' 197
- Apes' Hill, 16
- Apricots, 5
- Aq Buk, 62
- Aqshehr, 62
- Aqua vitae, 5, 9, 211
- Arab horse, an, 15
- Arab thieves, 114
- Arabella Stuart, Lady, xxxvi, 274
- Arcadius, column of, 77
- Archipelago, the Grecian, 56, 202,  
213, 214, 237
- Argentiero, 37
- Armada, the Spanish, xiii, 278
- Armenians, 108
- Arnon, river, 115
- Arundel, John, 8, 54*n*
- Arz, 170, 199, 201, 284
- Ascension*, the, 10, 213
- Ashley, Ralph, 176
- Aspers, *passim*; value of, 145(2),  
202, 203, 292-5
- Asses, 50, 113; hire of, 41*n*, 132*n*
- Aston, Sir Roger, 251
- Athens, 56
- At-Meidân* at Constantinople, 74,  
74*n*, 201
- Augsburg, 64, 91, 93
- Augustine, St, works of, 221
- Aurat Bazar, 73, 77
- Austell, Henry, 39*n*
- Austria, 245. *See also* Rudolph II
- Avania*, 19, 270, 297
- 'Awerta, 99
- Azores, the, 173*n*, 180*n*
- Azov, 286
- Baal Gad, 114, 117
- Ba'albek, 117
- Babenhausen, 64
- Babington, —, 12(2)
- Baghdad, 108(2), 130, 215, 277(2)
- Bailo, the, 250
- Bairam festival, the, 193
- Balass rubies, 228
- Baldwin, William (Jesuit), 272
- Balsam, 42
- Bancroft, Richard, Archbishop of  
Canterbury, 257, 263; death of, 272
- Bands, 222, 226*n*
- Banias* (baths), 39*n*, 72, 73, 78, 80
- Bank, suggested establishment of a,  
257
- Baqâm*, 228
- Barada, river, 96
- Barbary, 37, 51, 235
- Bardakchi, 62*n*
- Bar-le-Duc, 91, 94
- Barley, Edward, 177, 178, 185, 188,  
215, 220*n*, 281, 282; death of, 18
- Barley, Robert, 140*n*
- Barley water, 5
- Barlow, William, Bishop of Lincoln,  
85, 115*n*, 289

- Barnabas, 62  
 Barrett, William, 292  
 Bartholomew Fair, 233  
 Barton, Edward, ambassador at Constantinople, xvii, 82*n*, 126, 136, 144; secretary to Harborne, xvii, 11*n*; his influence with the Sultan, 61, 166, 168, 225, 296; accompanies him to the war in Hungary, xviii, 13, 58, 59, 145, 146, 149-51, 153, 156, 157, 159, 161, 162, 280; returns, xix, 13, 60, 166; makes peace between Turkey and Poland, 59, 279; his salary, 142-7, 149, 159, 194*n*; his allowances from the Sultan, 161, 166, 194*n*; his residence, 184*n*; his relations with Sanderson, xvii, 10-14, 142, 143; appoints him to act as deputy, 13, 160, 280; letters from, 129, 140, 142, 143(2), 145(3), 146, 148, 149, 153, 161, 162*n*, 163*n*, 173, 280; letters to, 169, 279, 280; his illness and death, xix, 15, 127, 174(3), 175(2), 204, 296, 297; his tomb, 74*n*, 85, 174, 259, 296, 297; his estate, 204, 234, 281, 282; debts of, 183, 194*n*; his secretary, *see* Lello; his sister, *see* Lough, Mrs  
 Barton, Robert, 127, 204, 281, 282; character of, 247; letters to, 226(2), 227, 230, 232; death of, 234; estate of, 234(2), 247, 255*n*, 258, 261, 275; Sanderson's claims against, 234*n*, 235, 248(2)  
 Baruck, Mount, 95  
 Basaleel, 95  
 Basra, 130, 277(2)  
 Bastinado, 11, 40*n*, 139, 247  
 Bate, Anthony, 6, 53, 132  
 Bate, John, 20, 137, 147*n*, 159(2)  
 Bathory, Gabriel, 245, 253  
 Bathory, Stephen, 245  
 Bavaria, Duke of, 93  
 Baxter, Thomas, 53*n*, 132  
 Bayat, 62  
 Bayezid II, 70, 72, 79, 80  
 Baylie, —, 234(2)  
 Bayning, Andrew or Paul, 186(2)  
 Bāzār, 135  
 Beaver cod, 232  
 Beck, 64  
 Bedic, Alexander de, 1  
 Bedremon, 96  
 Beershebah, 102  
 Beilān, 63, 147*n*, 165  
 Beit Jālā, 110  
 Belgrade, 150, 151, 153, 157(2), 161  
 Bell salt, a, 23, 23*n*  
 Bells not allowed, 74  
 Bennet, Thomas, 267  
 Benvenesco (or Benvinista), Dr, 35*n*, 201  
 Bergen op Zoom, 7, 54  
 Beroth, 100, 113  
 Bertram's mare, 15  
 Best, Thomas, captain of the *Mermaid*, 124, 208*n*, 217, 220; note on, 208*n*  
 Bethany, 104  
 Bethel, 19, 97, 114, 115  
 Bethesda, Pool of, 105  
 Bethlehem, 102; Sanderson at, 110, 111  
 Bethlehem ('Bedlam') Hospital, 288, 289  
 Bethphage, 104  
 Beverenco, Nicasio de, 250  
 Beylerbey, 57, 280, 283  
 Bezistan, 70, 77, 201  
 Biddulph, Rev. William, 175, 265; at Aleppo, 127*n*, 176, 176*n*, 177, 264; goes to Jerusalem, 105*n*, 107*n*, 215; his character, 264; the Archbishop of Canterbury and, 257, 263; is given a living, 257; his book, 215*n*, 257, 259, 260, 264, 265  
 Bīr Kadīsmū, 109*n*  
 Bīreh, el, 100, 113  
 Birkhead, William, 25, 179, 197, 202; his father, 179(2), 197  
 Bishop, Benjamin, 56*n*; sent to Cairo as vice-consul, 205, 206*n*, 209, 211, 219; dismissed, 206*n*; character of, 211  
 Black Sea, the, 30, 38, 38*n*, 39(2), 62, 69; English voyages in, 261, 262, 297  
 Blackwall, 51, 128  
 Blamont, 91, 94  
 'Blattering,' 298  
 Boderie, M. de la, 274*n*  
 Bodkins, 96*n*  
 Bodleian Library, Lello's gift to, 223*n*  
 Bon, Cape, 37, 51  
 Bond, John, 5

- Bonn, 64  
 Boppard, 64  
 Bordeaux, 128  
 Borgo, 91, 92  
 Bostock, —, 259  
 Botans, 131, 136  
 Botzen, 64, 91, 92  
 Boulogne, 128, 161, 191  
 Bourne, David, 18, 205, 206, 208,  
   281; assaults Sanderson, 18, 31(3),  
   197*n*, 213  
 Bowles, —, 7  
 Boyer, Sir Henry, 268, 292  
 Boys, William, 6*n*  
 Boz Yok, 62  
 'Brace,' 11, 27(2), 101  
 'Bragons,' 42  
 Brancepeth Castle, 230  
 Brazil, 180, 237  
 Brazil wood, 27, 30, 133, 169*n*, 187,  
   228; price of, 187  
 Brèves, François Savary de, French  
   ambassador at Constantinople, 14,  
   150(2), 174(2), 183, 184, 192, 239,  
   264; and Mariani, 13, 61, 129;  
   claims to supervise Dutch mer-  
   chants in Turkey, 166, 183, 188,  
   193, 199, 205, 238, 285  
 Brewer, J., 10  
 Brie, 94  
 Bristol and the Levant trade, 212  
 Broadcloth, 59*n*; presented, 161,  
   277; trade in, 134, 135, 144, 150,  
   165, 187, 193, 287; price of, 208;  
   customs duties on, 291  
 Broadstret, Simon, 10, 145, 155  
 Brockhouse, John, 187  
 'Broke,' 7(2)  
 Brusa, 157, 269*n*; captured by  
   rebels, 244, 245(2)  
 Buda, 76, 153(2)  
 'Budget,' 40  
 Bugdania (Moldavia), 188, 203, 210,  
   245, 269*n*, 275; Prince of, 238,  
   264; in England, xxxv, 239, 240,  
   243; desires to marry Lady Ara-  
   bella Stuart, xxxvii; Glover sup-  
   ports, xxxvii, 243, 253, 254, 256,  
   262, 269-73, 275, 276; his fate,  
   xxxvii, 269*n*  
 Bulaq, 41, 46(2), 47, 127, 138  
 Bulvadin, 62  
 Burleigh, Lord, 147*n*, 159  
 'Burnt Column,' the, 67*n*, 73, 77  
 Burrell, John, 106*n*  
 Burton, Anne, 23(2)  
 Bushell, Edward, 11-13  
 Bussièrès, 91, 94  
 Bustānji Bāshi, the, 82, 89, 162,  
   177, 183-5, 201, 204, 216  
 Bustānjizade, 129  
 Butler, George, 56*n*  
 'Buzzard,' 249  
 Byzantium, 65, 67  
 'Cabina,' 56*n*  
 Cadengighan, 62  
 Caesar, Julius, ashes of, 74, 75*n*  
 Caesar, W., 9, 16  
 'Caia,' 18, 162  
 Caiaphas, house of, 103  
 'Caique,' *See Qayiq*  
 Cairo, 41, 50, 87, 106*n*, 111*n*; de-  
   scribed, 42; castle at, 41*n*; plague  
   at, 4; Pasha of, 41*n*, 52(2), 53, 129,  
   134, 135, 138(2), 139, 209; other  
   officials of, 41*n*, 52, 129, 134, 135,  
   137-9; coinage at, 294; customs  
   rates at, 132, 133, 135, 137, 138;  
   Roman Catholics at, 42; Jews at,  
   43*n*, 50, 135; Sanderson at, 3, 40,  
   50-2, 127, 131-9; English consul  
   at, *see* Mariani (Paulo); vice-con-  
   sul, 237, 277 (*see also* Bishop);  
   French at, 13, 135, 137-9, 205,  
   206*n*, 209; Venetians at, 50, 53,  
   133-7  
 Calais captured, 148  
 Calcos. *See* Halki  
 Caldaron, 51  
 Calsidon. *See* Scutari  
 Calthorpe, Anna, 7*n*  
 Calthorpe, Bertram, 23  
 Calthorpe, John, 17  
 Calthorpe, Margaret, xv, 8, 23, 24  
 Calthorpe, Sir Martin, xi, xiv, 3,  
   6, 7, 140; his death, xv, 7(2), 8;  
   his wife, xv, 6, 8, 140  
 Calthorpe, Martin (Junior),  
   xxxviii, 8; letters to, 246, 251(2),  
   255, 258, 265; his wife, 266  
 Calthorpe, Thomas, 7(2), 54(2);  
   death of, 7, 54  
 Calvin, James, 282  
 Camburgo House at Aleppo, 167  
 Camels, 41*n*, 46, 49, 113, 156; hire  
   of, 291  
 Camlets, 58*n*, 226

- Campbell, Sir Thomas, 205*n*, 271  
 Campthout, 64  
 Cana, 115  
 Canaan, Mount, 97(2)  
 Canaries, the, 180  
 Canavat, river, 96  
 Candia, 51, 91; an inhabitant of, 168  
 'Candiamay,' 292  
 Candish, Thomas, 8*n*, 278  
 Canterbury, Archbishop of, 274.  
     *See also* Abbot, Bancroft and Whitgift  
 Canvas, trade in, 133  
 Caper plants, 41  
 Capernaum, 113*n*, 114, 114*n*, 124  
 Capitulations (English) of 1580, xii, 277, 282; negotiations for fresh, xxv, 174, 175, 185, 188, 192(2), 199, 238; text of 1601 grant, 282; copies of, 220  
 Caps, 226*n*, 249  
 Carabon, Jacob, 227, 228(2), 232, 233, 233*n*  
 Caram, Mount, 97  
 'Caramisall,' 50(2), 53, 90, 127, 189, 202, 216  
 Carat, 292  
 Caravanserai, 56*n*(2)  
 Carew, Sir George, xxxiv*n*, 3  
 'Carigaro,' 53, 139, 245  
 Carob trees, 41  
 Carpane, 91, 92  
 Carpets, 23*n*, 32, 33(2), 226, 249  
 Carrots, 43  
 Carthage, 51  
 Cartwright, Rev. John, 215  
*Çasale*, 56, 62, 63  
 'Casenda,' 52  
 Cassia, 41, 49, 131, 134, 136-8  
 Castelfranco Veneto, 64, 91, 92  
 Castile, Constable of, 229  
 'Casting-bottle,' 32  
 Cats, musk, 42  
 Cattaro, 12  
 Cecil, Sir Robert (afterwards Earl of Salisbury), 237, 272; letters from, 160, 238*n*, 253, 256; letters to, 153, 158, 223*n*, 238, 243*n*, 244, 257*n*, 262*n*(2), 280, 288, 297; Sanderson writes to, 60, 150, 151, 156, 158, 160, 162; and Hanger's complaints, 31*n*, 213  
 Cedar trees, 118  
 Celbasabua, 106  
 Cephalonia, 37(2), 56  
 Ceuta, 6, 51  
 Châlons-sur-Marne, 91, 94  
 Chamberlain, —, 255  
 Champagne, 94  
*Chaqshir*, 202  
 Chara, the, 185; her sons, 188; murder of, 85, 201(3), 203, 204  
 Charity, the, xvii, 37(2), 51, 127, 161  
*Chāush*, xxxiii, 10, 56*n*(3), 82, 203.  
     *See also* Mustafa  
 Cheapside, 267*n*, 293  
 Chelibi, Israel, 201  
 Chequin, *passim*; value of, 200, 202, 203, 267, 269*n*, 292(2), 294, 295  
*Cherubim*, the, 19, 91, 128; loss of, 128  
 Chester, J., 9  
 Chestnuts, 133  
 'Cheverned,' 102  
 Chiaus. *See* Chāush  
 Chickens hatched artificially, 43  
 Chorazin, 115*n*  
 Chrissochiro, 72  
 Christiana, 51  
 Chrysolites, 228  
 Chrysostom, works of, 218, 223*n*, 228, 236, 236*n*  
 'Chucolle,' 291  
 Cigala-oghlu. *See* Sinān Pasha  
 Cilicia, 108  
 Cinnabar, 134(2)  
 Cinnamon, 131*n*  
 Circassians, the, 244  
 Cismon, 64  
 Cittanuova, 91  
 Civet, 232  
 Cleopatra, 41  
 Clèves, 272  
 Clocks, 199, 277  
 Clothworkers' Company, xxxvii, 6*n*, 22*n*, 24, 27*n*, 28  
 Cloves, 190, 291; price of, 131*n*, 172  
 Coach presented, 181  
 Cochineal, 132, 169  
 Cock's stone, 43  
 Coen, Abraham, 101*n*, 116, 120, 124-6; his father Isaac, 120, 125; his father-in-law, 120*n*, 124, 126  
 Coen, David, 137  
 Coen, —, 84  
 Colchester, 130  
 Colioros, 103, 111, 112, 123, 126

- Cologne, 64  
 Colossus, at Constantinople, 76; at Rhodes, 39  
 Colthurst, Richard, consul at Aleppo, 15, 15*n*, 175, 194, 196, 220; his appointment, 167, 171; letters from, 176, 187; letters to, 175, 177, 191, 198  
 Combs, 231, 233, 239  
 Comous, 41*n*  
 Coningsby, Sir Ralph, 264*n*, 267  
 Conisby (or Coningsby), Humphrey, 185, 185*n*, 294, 295  
 Consent, the, 258*n*  
 Conserves, 131(2)  
 Constantine the Great, 66-8, 76*n*, 77*n*  
 Constantine XII, 68  
 Constantine, Prince, 276  
 Constantinople, *passim*; origin of name, 68; history and description of, 38, 61, 65-83; chief monuments of, 38, 69; aqueducts at, 77-9; walls and gates, 66, 67, 69, 79-81; public library, 68; size of, 83; population of, 82, 83; number of mosques and churches, 73; the Sultan's menagerie, 38, 57, 69, 76; fires and earthquakes at, 68, 69*n*, 79; plague at, xviii, 12, 68, 259, 296; customs at, 190; weights at, 290, 291; state of trade at, 210, 224, 228, 241, 270; Sanderson's first visit, 3, 4, 38, 39, 51; his second, 9-14, 57-62; his third, 84-90; English ambassadors at, *see* Harborne, Barton, Lello, and Glover; French ambassador at, *see* Brèves; Imperial ambassador at, 73; Venetian ambassadors at, *passim*; Patriarch of, 69, 227, 228 (*see also* Milesius and Neophytus); Jews in, 60, 61, 80, 83, 84, 120(2), 125, 191, 198, 201, 238; ill-used, 85, 201-4; their influence and trade, 26, 27, 27*n*, 86  
 Constantius, the emperor, 68*n*  
 Consulage, payment of, xxi, and *passim*  
 'Cony,' 232  
 Cony-skins, trade in, 12, 132, 135, 136, 169(2). *See also* Furs  
 Cook, John, 2*n*  
 Copper, 134, 218  
 Copts, the, in Egypt, 41*n*(2), 42*n*, 52; at Jerusalem, 108  
 Coral, trade in, 134, 228  
 Cordell, Thomas, 14, 16*n*, 193*n*, 202; Sanderson acts as factor for, xvii, 14, 17(2), 143, 159, 185; Aldrich (Jonas) does the same, 14, 17, 146; letters to, 144, 149; his wife, 9*n*; his ship, 161  
 Cordoero, Gedelia, 125  
 Corfu, 91  
 Corinth, 10, 56(2), 56*n*(2); metal of, 71, 96  
 Corn, scarcity of, in England, 252, 255, 257, 266  
 Corneglio, —, 95  
 Coruña, 173  
 Coryat, Tom, 290  
 Costly, the, 287  
 Cotton, Randolph, 8, 54*n*  
 Cotton, raw price of, 131*n*, 135, 172  
 Cotton yarn, 131; price of, 131*n*  
 Course, Robert, 10, 205  
 Court Pasha, 63, 170  
 Covel, Dr, 297  
 Cowley, Thomas, 173  
 Cox, —, 176  
 Coxden, George, 247*n*  
 Crete. *See* Candia  
 Crocodiles, 42  
 Crowns, 295  
 Croydon, 293(2)  
 Cullimer, —, 28  
 Cumberland, George, Earl of, 213; Henry, Earl of, 274  
 Curdi Casall, 63  
 Currants, 161, 185, 207, 257  
 Customs, Farmers of the, 289(2)  
 Cyprus, 51, 84, 130, 215; Sanderson in, 16, 63, 90; Pasha of, 262  
 Dag, a, 11(2)  
 Dallam, Thomas, xxi, 84*n*, 177, 185*n*, 295  
 Damascus, 46, 100*n*, 109, 120, 125, 132, 147, 157, 186, 215; gates of, 116, 117; valley of, 98*n*, 114, 117; Sanderson at, 90, 95, 96(2), 116, 124, 221, 247  
 Damasks, 60, 117, 133, 139  
 Damietta, 47*n*, 48, 53, 137; Sanderson at, 47, 50, 53, 127, 138  
 Dan, 97  
 Danube, river, 93, 153*n*, 156

- Danzig, 257; merchant, 1  
 Dardanelles, the, 38, 57  
*Darling*, the, 263  
 Dartmouth, 8, 9(3), 54, 54<sup>n</sup>, 55(2), 85, 128  
 Date trees, 41, 49  
 Daud Pasha, 73  
 David, Jacob ben al, and his son, 120, 125, 126  
 David, King, 102, 111, 119<sup>n</sup>; tomb of, 102; tower of, 102  
 Davies, John, 293  
 Davis, John, xvi, 8, 9, 54  
 Davis, —, 95  
 Dawkins, —, 10  
 Day, Alice, 34  
 Day, John, 34  
 Day, Joseph, 34  
 Dead Sea, the, 100, 104, 113, 115  
 Deane, Sir James, 255<sup>n</sup>; his widow, 255  
 Deborah, 98  
 Deer, 57  
*Defterdār*, 82, 144(2), 161<sup>n</sup>, 183, 201, 283  
*Deli*, 249  
 Deli Hasan, 188<sup>n</sup>  
 Dennis, —, 53<sup>n</sup>  
 Devonshire, Earl of, 229<sup>n</sup>  
 Diamonds, 85<sup>n</sup>, 185  
 Diana, 10, 12  
*Diana*, the, 12  
 Dieppe, 91, 94  
 Digby, Sir John, 274  
 Dil, 62  
*Dīmo*, 27<sup>n</sup>  
*Dinkelsbühl*, 64  
*Dirham*, 292(4)  
*Divān*, legal tribunal, 53, 82, 191; council of ministers, 183-5, 203, 249, 261, 262  
 Dogs, the Sultan's, 38, 59, 277  
 Dohonett, Mount, 117  
 Dollar, *passim*; value of, 200, 202, 203, 292, 295  
 Dome of the Rock, at Jerusalem, 101, 102<sup>n</sup>  
 Donauwörth, 64  
 Dora, Mount, 117  
 Dordrecht, 64  
 Dorrington, Arthur, 271, 276  
 Dorrington, Francis, 12, 172, 172<sup>n</sup>, 178, 271  
 Dorrington, George, 16, 145, 172; vice-consul at Aleppo, 146-8, 160, 164(2), 165(2), 169(2), 171; deposed, 151-5; in London, 271; Sanderson and, 159, 178, 198, 287; letters from, 147, 150, 154, 158, 171; letter to, 151  
 Dorset, Earl of, 289  
 Dōthān, 98  
 Douglas, John, 16(4)  
 Dover, 91, 94  
 Dowland, John, 24<sup>n</sup>  
 Dowland, Robert, 24<sup>n</sup>  
 Downs, the, 51, 64, 84, 128  
 Dragoman, 47, 107<sup>n</sup>, 138, 139, 152, 153, 156, 161, 189, 225, 284(2)  
*Dragon*, the, 235. *See also Malice Scourge*, the  
 Drake, Sir Francis, his expeditions, 16, 36<sup>n</sup>, 148, 279; portraits of, 33, 35<sup>n</sup>  
 Drapers' Company, xiv<sup>n</sup>, xxxi, xxxix, 3<sup>n</sup>, 24, 288; Sanderson's bequests to, 34(2), 35, 298  
 Drury, Sir William, 7, 54; his wife and daughters, 7, 54, 128  
 Ducats, *passim*; value of, 292, 295  
 Dunbar, Earl of, 274  
 Durant, John, 3  
 Durham, Bishop of, 274  
 Düsseldorf, 64  
 Dutch trade in the Levant, 199; disputes over the protection of their merchants, xxv, xxvi, 166, 183, 185, 188, 193, 199, 205, 238, 285; trade with the East Indies, xxiii, 180, 186, 189, 190(2), 212, 213, 250. *See also Flemings and Holland*  
 Dwarfs, 82, 89  
 Dyer, —, 54<sup>n</sup>  
 East India Company, xxiii; members of, 6<sup>n</sup>(2), 17<sup>n</sup>, 205<sup>n</sup>, 208<sup>n</sup>; plans for an expedition, 180; the first voyage, 212, 213; the third, 235, 236<sup>n</sup>, 258<sup>n</sup>; the fourth, 247; the seventh and eighth, 274  
 East Indies, the, 233<sup>n</sup>, 272; Sanderson's voyage towards, 8, 54, 128; Dutch expeditions to, xxiii, 180, 186, 189, 190(2), 212, 213, 250  
 Ebal, Mount, 99



- Eben ha-shēthīyāh*, 119  
 Ebony, 89  
 Ecouie, 91, 94  
 Edward VII., 290  
*Edward Bonaventure*, the 19, 90, 128, 136; loss of, 128  
 Eger. *See* Erlau  
 Egerton, Sir Thomas, 191  
 Egerton, —, 7, 54(2)  
 Egna, 64  
 Egypt, described, 4; revenues of, 52; currency of, 294; Jews in, 40*n*, 52(2). *See also* Alexandria, Cairo, etc.  
 Eleazar, 99  
 Eldred, John, 6, 50*n*, 53*n*; at Aleppo, 132; acts as consul, 136; goes to Jerusalem, 140, 290; made a Knight of the Sepulchre, 290; an enemy to Sanderson, 199, 204, 255, 287; treasurer of the Levant Company, 145, 178, 193*n*, 204; assists Lello, 237, 246, 255; and Biddulph, 257; letter from, 277; letter to, 141  
 Elephants at Constantinople, 38, 57(2), 59, 69  
 Elfin, 64  
 Elijah, the Prophet, 95, 98, 109; his dwelling, 109  
 Elisha, the Prophet, 95, 96, 109  
 Elizabeth, Queen, and the Earl of Essex, 173, 191; presents for, 85*n*, 184, 185, 189, 193*n*; writes to Barton, 279; her letter to the Sultan, 210; his letters to her, 163*n*, 189, 279; her burial, 33  
 Elkin, John, 215(2)  
 Ellmending, 91, 93  
 Eltville, 64  
 Ely, Bishop of, 272  
 Emeralds, 228  
 Emin, 283  
*Emir-i-akhor Bashy*, 82  
 Emmerich, 64  
 Épernon, Duc d', 274  
 Ephesus, Archbishop of, 280  
 Ephraim, Mount, 99(2)  
 Epithimom, 231  
 Eregli, 62  
 Erlau, capture of, 60, 156, 162, 162*n*  
 Esau, 97  
 Escol, valley of, 112(2)  
 Eski Serai, the, 72  
 Eskishehr, 62  
 Essex, Earl of, 24*n*; his expedition to the Azores, 173(3); imprisonment of, 191  
 Ethiopia, 57, 108, 120  
 Etmekji-oghlu, 253  
 Etma, Mount, 37  
 Euphrates, the, 188  
 Eve, tomb of, 112  
*Exchange*, the, 171, 176, 196(2), 207, 233(2)  
*Exchange*, the Royal, 246, 248, 259, 266, 271, 273  
 Exeter, 9  
 Eyoub, 80*n*  
 'Facke,' 212  
 Factorage, rate of, 17, 177, 199, 202(2), 212  
 'Faddling,' 18  
 Falconers, 82  
 Falmouth, 55  
 Famagusta, 63  
 Faro, Cape de, 37  
 Felton, Dr Nicholas, 115*n*  
 Fenton, Dr Roger, 115*n*  
 Fenton, Viscount, 274  
 Fenton, —, 20, 234*n*, 258(2), 263, 273; marriage of, 274  
 Ferdinand and Isabella, 295  
 Ferhad Pasha, 35*n*, 89*n*  
 'Fernandobuck,' 169  
 Ferrara, 92  
 Ferrol, 173  
 Fetherston, —, 261  
 Fez, Sultana of, 10  
 Field, John, 13, 143*n*, 150, 155, 161, 282; executor to Barton, 282; in England, 18, 236; Sanderson and, 12(2), 14(3), 196(2); his wife, 18, 236  
 Fig trees, 41  
 Fignaart, 64  
 Finisterre, Cape, 51  
 Fitch, Ralph, 155, 158; elected consul at Aleppo, 154-6, 159, 164, 166, 169; appointment annulled, 167; his journey to India, xvi, xvii, 6*n*, 277; character of, 154, 159, 166; letters from, 151, 164, 169, 171  
 Flanders, 7(2), 212; merchants, 3, 140, 267, 285. *See also* Netherlands

- Flax, trade in, 133  
 Fleet prison, 293  
 Fleetwood, Robert, 187  
 Flemings, 39<sup>n</sup>, 92, 95. *See also*  
     Dutch  
 Flesher, Katherine, 34  
 Flora, picture of, 33  
 Florence, 133, 250  
 Flushing, 54(2), 64, 128(2)  
 Flux (dysentery), 15, 175  
 Flyboat, 161  
 Fondaco, 130  
 Fonte Effaël, 91, 94  
 Fowle, Matthew, 252  
 Foxall, Isabel. *See* Sanderson, Mrs  
 Foxall, Joan, 22<sup>n</sup>  
 Foxall, John, 22<sup>n</sup>  
 Foxall, —, 2, 22<sup>n</sup>, 140<sup>n</sup>  
 France (*see also* French), 240, 259;  
     events in, 274; English trade in,  
     212, 257; king of, *see* Henry IV  
 Francesco, Padre, 19, 123  
 Franke, P., 12  
 Frankfurt, 64  
 Franks, 107, 139  
 Franklin, William, 1  
 Freake, Thomas, 186, 187, 208, 215  
 Freeston, William, 6<sup>n</sup>  
 French, the (*see also* France), xiii,  
     68, 148, 160, 239; ships, 55; trade  
     in Turkey, 238<sup>n</sup>, 283; in Egypt,  
     129<sup>n</sup>, 133, 135, 137, 139, 205 (*see*  
     *also* Cairo, Mariani (Paulo), and  
     Vento); in Syria, 148, 167, 168;  
     ambassador in London, 193, 256,  
     274; ambassador at Constantinople  
     (*see also* Brèves), xii, 254, 256, 298  
 Friesland, 285  
 Frost, a great, 249  
 Fryer, John, 187  
 Furs, 78, 228, 287. *See also* Cony-  
     skins  
 'Fust,' 291  
 Fustians, 131, 226<sup>n</sup>  
  
 Gad, the Patriarch, 112  
 Gad, the land of, 96; valley of, 117  
 Galana, Daniel, 19(2), 123(3)  
 Galata, 25, 60<sup>n</sup>, 156; churches at,  
     73; English house at, 85, 167, 184,  
     195(2), 199, 200, 206, 295; note on,  
     184<sup>n</sup>  
 Gale, John, 217, 220<sup>n</sup>  
 Galilee, 97, 217  
  
*Galion Bon*, the, 40, 52, 134  
 Galipoli, 10, 38, 39, 57, 84, 95  
 Galls, 131, 291; price of, 131<sup>n</sup>,  
     172  
 'Ganching,' 87, 88, 90, 191  
 Garraway, John, at Constantinople,  
     182, 185, 187, 192(2), 197<sup>n</sup>, 220<sup>n</sup>,  
     281, 282; chief merchant of the  
     *Defence*, 214, 262<sup>n</sup>; death of, 18  
 Garraway, (Sir) William, 18<sup>n</sup>, 143(2),  
     144, 159, 166<sup>n</sup>, 185, 193<sup>n</sup>, 202;  
     his eldest son, 18<sup>n</sup>  
 Garret, William, xii  
 Gata, Cape de, 37, 51  
 Gates, Sir Thomas, 263<sup>n</sup>  
*Gatti pardi*, 42  
 Gazelles, 42  
*Gazzetta*, 292  
 Gebze, 62  
 Geisenheim, 64  
 Geislingen, 91, 93  
 Gennesaret, Lake of, 97, 114, 115  
 Genoa, 134  
 Genoese settle Pera, 81; merchants,  
     53, 133, 139; deserter, 157; factory  
     at Constantinople, 130  
 George, St, 111  
*George Bonaventure*, the, 149(3), 161,  
     196  
 Georgia, 297  
 Georgians, 108  
 Gergesites, the, 97  
 Gerizim, Mount, 99  
 Germans, 231, 290; at Cairo, 44,  
     44<sup>n</sup>, 52; ambassador at Constan-  
     tinople, *see* Krecowitz  
 Germany, plague in, 222  
 Germigny, M. de, xii  
 Gethsemane, 104  
 Ghasnefer, 223<sup>n</sup>  
 'Giamberlake,' 56<sup>n</sup>  
 Gibraltar, 51; Straits of, 5, 6, 36, 51,  
     55  
 Gibson, William, 20  
 Gilboa, Mountains of, 98  
 Gilgal, 115  
 Gilpin, John, 205  
 Ginger, 131(2), 291; price of, 131<sup>n</sup>  
 Giraffe, a, 57, 59  
*Globe*, the, 274<sup>n</sup>  
 Gloucester, Bishop of, 236  
 Glover, Lady (wife of Sir Thomas),  
     233, 239, 248; her death and burial,  
     259(2), 260, 264, 265, 274, 275<sup>n</sup>

- Glover, Lady (widow of Sir William), 240, 248, 249; her children, 240, 264
- Glover, Sir Thomas, secretary to Barton, 11(2), 162*n*; to Lello, 188, 189, 200, 219, 222, 250, 281; sent to England, 224*n*; his return, 224*n*, 226, 227; his abilities commended, 189, 220, 224, 225*n*, 242; Sanderson urges his claims, 226, 246; knighted and appointed ambassador, xxxii, 231; goes out, 233; his proceedings, 194*n*, 238; concludes capitulations, 238; his influence, 243; supports claims of Prince of Bugdania, 243, 253, 254, 256, 262, 269-73; his character, 224*n*, 226, 242; charged with cruelty, 247, 271, 276; with immorality and pride, 242, 254, 273; Sanderson censures, 224*n*, 226, 247, 252, 254, 264*n*, 271; his quarrels with Lello, xxxii, 234, 235, 237(2), 238(2), 242, 248, 250, 252, 255, 258*n*; and with Strachey, 258; helps Midnall, 297, 298; his wealth, 270-3; his recall, 270, 273; his despatches, 243*n*; letters from, 243, 253, 261, 262, 269, 275; letters to, 222, 227, 228, 234-41, 248(2), 250, 252, 254-8, 263, 266-74, 297; his sister, *see* Peacock, Mrs
- Glover, Thomas, Senior, 11*n*
- Glover, Sir William, 11*n*
- Gloves, 23*n*, 226*n*, 233, 290
- Gnidus, 68
- Goddard, Sir Richard, 255*n*; his widow, 255
- Gold, cloth of, 59*n*, 60, 78
- Golden Key, the, 267
- Goletta, 16, 51
- Gömlük, 56*n*, 181*n*
- Gomorrhah, Lake of. *See* Dead Sea
- Goodlad, William, 130
- Gore End, 55
- Gore family, the, 246*n*
- Gorkum, 64
- Gould, Robert, 9, 10(2), 50*n*, 53*n*, 56*n*, 168; consul at Patras, 56*n*; joins Greek church and is re-baptized as John, 18*n*, 56*n*
- Grange, the, 18
- Gravesend, 7, 36, 51(2), 54, 84
- Gray, —, 2
- Greek books and MSS. *See* Sanderson, Rev. Thomas
- Greene, —, 7
- Gregory, St, works of, 221
- Grigno, 64, 91, 92
- Grimes, Philip, 17*n*, 160, 171
- Grocers' Company, 18*n*
- Grograms, 58*n*, 115; trade in, 19, 26, 27, 226(2), 227, 229
- 'Grop,' 181, 216
- Groyne, the. *See* Coruña
- Guarchi, 62
- Guelderland, 285
- Guildhall, the, 248
- Gum Arabic, 131
- Gunpowder, 157, 262, 283
- Habakkuk, 98
- Habashās, 108
- Haberdashers' Company, 21, 241*n*
- Hāfiz Ahmad, Chief Vizier, 204, 249; dismissed, 214
- Haggai, tomb of, 105
- Haggett, Bartholomew, 270, 287; made consul at Aleppo, 270
- Hagbett, Mount, 117
- Hagios Ilias, 37
- Haji Nasreddin, 192, 193
- Hākhām, 125
- Halak, Mount, 117
- Halhul, 112*n*
- Halki, island of, 30, 62, 259; Barton buried in, 74*n*, 85, 174, 259, 296, 297
- Halliday, John, 288
- Halliday, Sir Leonard, 288, 289
- Hamah, 130*n*, 132, 290-2
- Hamburg, 54, 128
- Handkerchiefs, 185, 222, 224
- Hanger, George, xxii, xxxvii, 24, 178; letter from, 180; death of, 248; his wife, 28; his son, *see* Hanger, John
- Hanger, John, Sanderson's apprentice, ix, xviii, xxxvii, 17, 129*n*, 166*n*, 187*n*, 208, 212, 213, 220, 221; his misdoings, xxii, 17, 24-31, 197*n*, 213, 221*n*, 277; his experience, 30; stock for, 179; his marriage, 29; his subsequent career, 31*n*, 249
- Harborne, William, ambassador at Constantinople, xi-xiii, 57*n*, 278(2); Sanderson and, xii, 3;

- delivers present, 277; obtains privileges, xii, 277; statement of his services, 278; his house, 129; letter to, 277
- Harman, —, 18, 197, 197*n*
- Harris, Alexander, 16, 202, 287
- Harris, William, 281
- Hart, Sir John, 6
- Hart, W., 8
- Harvey, Robert, 255
- Harvey, Stephen, 268
- Harwich, 36
- Hasan Agha, 193(2)
- Hasan Pasha, left in charge of Constantinople, 59, 87, 156, 158; made Chief Vizier, then dismissed and strangled, 59*n*, 87
- Hasan Pasha (son of Mehmet Pasha), 156, 157
- Hasan Naqqash Pasha, 244, 245
- Hasan Yemishji, 214, 223
- Hāsbeya, 117*n*
- 'Hasna,' 163
- 'Hathumayun,' 275, 285(2)
- Hats, 199, 226*n*
- Hatto, Bishop, 64*n*
- Havannah, 148
- Hawat, 42*n*
- Hawkins, William, 235
- Hawks, 58*n*, 59
- Hayes, Sir Thomas, xiv, xv, 140
- Haywood, James, 151*n*, 241
- Hazael, 95, 109
- Heath, James, 6*n*
- Heath, —, 267
- Hebron, 98; Sanderson at, 112, 113
- Hector*, the, 176*n*, 196, 200; Sanderson sails in, 84, 128, 218; at Constantinople, 84, 177(2), 178, 182, 237; at Scanderoon, 187, 189; sent to the East Indies, 214, 235, 236*n*
- Helen of Troy, 37
- Helena, the Empress (1), 68; in Palestine, 105, 109, 110; tomb of, 63
- Helena, the Empress (2), 68
- Hellespont, the, 69
- Helman, Jacomo, 13, 249
- Henry IV, King of France, 148, 160, 161; his war with Savoy, 213; assassinated, 272
- Herberstein, Adam von, 253
- Herbsthausen, 64
- Hercules*, the, xvii, 45, 50, 53; Sanderson sails in, 5(2), 6, 51, 53, 127
- Heretho, 38
- Hermon, Mount, 95, 96, 117
- Hero and Leander, 38*n*, 62
- Herod, King, 44, 102*n*, 103*n*
- Hickday, John, 12, 130
- Hickockes, William, 185*n*, 186
- Hides, trade in, 133
- Higdie. *See* Hickday
- Higgons, James, 250
- Hills, William, 130
- Hippodrome at Constantinople, 74-6
- Hippopotami, 47, 53
- Hisbah*, 203
- Hoby, Sir Edward, xxxiii*n*
- Holden, Christopher, 2*n*
- Holland, 160, 212, 285; war between Spain and, 180, 191; truce made, 235, 236; peace negotiations, 191, 250; peace concluded, 263, 266. *See also* Dutch
- Holland, Bartholomew, 187
- Holloway, Rev. Thomas, 20
- Holyrood House, 287
- Homer, 68; burial place of, 38
- Hopkins, Robert, 17, 32, 34, 217; death of, 20
- Horam, —, 267
- Horeb, Mount, 95, 109
- Horses, *passim*; purchase of, 146
- Horspoole, Hawes, 172*n*
- Hosea, the Prophet, 98
- Houlford, Christopher, 29, 31*n*
- Houtman, Cornelis de, xxiii
- Huldah, 105
- Hüle, Lake, 97(2), 115
- Humfry, Mrs, 2
- Hungary, coins of, 218, 295; war in, *see* Mehmet III
- 'Hungers,' 218, 295
- Hunsdon, Lord, 278
- Huntly, John, 154, 155, 159
- Husein Pasha, rebellion of, 88, 186, 188; death of, 88, 191
- Hutchinson, Dr Ralph, 115*n*
- Hutton, Matthew, Archbishop of York, 288
- Ibrāhīm Pasha (1), Chief Vizier, 60, 129, 156, 157, 163, 187, 203, 210; his marriage, 74*n*, 130; his house, 74

- Ibrāhīm Pasha (2), slain, 76; his house, 74, 76  
*Ich oghlan*, 163  
 Ilghin, 62  
 Indigo, trade in, 53, 130, 137, 186, 189, 215; price of, 131*n*, 172  
 Ingenios, the, 36  
 Inn, river, 91, 92  
 Innsbruck, 64, 91, 92  
 Insurance of goods, xvii, 178, 198, 287; of life, 211  
 Ipswich, 35  
 Ireland, affairs in, 191 (2), 272; Sanderson's interests in, 34, 272*n*  
 Isaac, tomb of, 112  
 Isaiah, tomb of, 106  
 Ismil, 62  
 Isnik, 62  
 Istria, 91  
 Italy, 258, 268. *See also* Florence, Genoa, *etc.*  
 Ithamar, 99  
 Ivory, 89, 232, 233; trade in, 229  
  
 Jackson, Arthur, 193*n*  
 Jacob, the Patriarch, 97 (2); tomb of 112; well of, 113  
 Jacobites, 108  
 Jael, 98  
 Ja'far, 10, 56*n*  
*Jāma-masjid*, 73  
 Jambolat-oghlu, rebellion of, 244 (2), 265  
 James, St, 98  
 James I, 224, 229, 272, 293; and the Turkish envoy, 240, 241; and the Prince of Bugdania, 253, 256; and Lello, 246; loans to, 257*n*, 288; book by, 266; at Oxford, 288; letter to the corporation of London, 287; presents and letters to the Sultan, 226, 227, 253, 262; letter from the Sultan to, 246  
 Jamoglains. *See* *Ajem oghlan*  
 Jane, John, 8, 55  
 Janisaries, 5 *and passim*; commander of, 82  
 Janisary, Cape, 84  
 Japanese, 9  
 Jassy, 203  
 Jaundice, yellow, 5  
 Jaxin, T., 16, 17  
 Jebel et Tūr, 98*n*, 99*n*  
 Jebel Faqqū'a, 98*n*  
 Jehoshaphat, Valley of, 106, 120  
 Jehu, 95, 98, 109  
 Jenin, 98, 113  
 Jeremiah, 103; sons of, 106  
 Jermi, 46, 52, 127, 132  
 Jerrāh Mehmet Pasha, 73  
 Jerusalem, 46; gates of, 100, 102; Pasha of, 121, 122 (2); his deputy, 18, 122; Governor of, 122; *Qadi* of, 107, 107*n*; Padre Guardiano, 107*n*, 111*n*, 122, 123, 290; Roman Catholics at, 18, 19, 107*n*, 108*n*, 121, 122; Greeks at, 102-12; Greek Patriarch of, 18, 102, 107, 108, 115, 115*n*, 121-5; his house, 109 (2); Sanderson's visit to, 18, 19, 100-13, 209, 214, 216-18; other travellers at, 105*n*, 106*n*, 107*n*, 140, 147, 215, 216, 290  
 Jerusalem cross, the, 290  
 Jesse, tomb of, 113  
 Jesuits, 272  
 'Jesus and Justus,' 152  
 Jethro, 98  
 Jews, 5, 16, 19, 47, 95-126, 247; on Christ, 118. *See also* Constantinople, Egypt, *etc.*  
 Jezebel, 95  
 Jezid, river, 96  
 Jezreel, 98  
 Jisr Benāt Ya'kūb, 97  
 Job, the Patriarch, 80, 81  
 Jōbar, 95, 117  
 John, the Apostle, 98, 119  
 John the Baptist, 113  
 John (martyr), 41*n*  
*John and Francis*, the, 209-11; master, of, 209  
 Johnson, —, 85  
 Jones, Peter, 287  
 Jones, —, 12, 13  
 Joppa, 124, 127  
 Jor, 97  
 Jordan, river, 97 (3), 100, 104, 113-5  
 Joseph, the Patriarch, 42, 98; tomb of, 99, 113  
 Joseph, St, 42, 44, 109, 110  
 Joshua, tomb of, 99  
 Josias, 99  
 Judah, King of, 102  
 Judas, 104  
 Judson, Rev. Richard, 8  
 Juitt, Thomas, 155  
 Julian, the Emperor, 75*n*

- Juliers, 272  
 Juni, 63  
 Justinian I, 71  
  
 Kaffa, 262*n*  
*Kafir*, 249  
 Kafr et Tûr, 104*n*, 105*n*  
 Kaiserwerth, 64  
 Kaniza, capture of, 210  
 Kara Yazidji, rebellion of, 88*n*, 186, 188, 204; death of, 188*n*  
 Kardamyli, 38  
 Karn Hittin, 98(2), 113*n*  
 Kartal, 62  
*Kashshâf-aqcheh*, 285  
 Kastro, 38  
 Kedron, the brook, 103*n*, 106  
 Kemp, Robert, 95, 246, 250, 250*n*  
 Kent, Earl of, 8  
 Ker, John, 224  
 Kerby, Jeffery, 105*n*, 215; letters to, 185, 213, 217  
 Keresztes, battle of, 163  
 Kerseys, trade in, 132, 134, 135, 148, 169, 172, 210, 218; customs duties on, 291; price of, 208, 291  
*Ketkhuda*, 18*n*, 162  
 Khalil Pasha, Grand Admiral, 58*n*, 142, 162; refuses to be Chief Vizier, 204; his wife, 58*n*, 142  
 Khân et Tujjar, 98  
 Khân Minye, 114*n*  
*Khanzir*, 250  
*Khasîna*, 52*n*, 157, 163*n*  
 Khelidonia, Cape, 84, 90  
 Khoja Efendi Sa'd al-Dîn, *see* •Sa'd-al-Dîn  
 Kieff, 245  
 Kimby, Richard, 34  
 Kimby, Robert, 34  
 King's Bench, the, 293  
 Kinloss, Baron Bruce of, 274  
 Kiosks, 72  
 Kira. *See* Chara  
 Kishon, the brook, 98  
*Kiswa* (holy carpet), 45*n*, 52  
 Kitley, John, 231, 234, 238, 247*n*, 252, 267; and Lello, 256, 258, 264; book for, 247, 248; his reported marriage, 252, 256; letters from, 242, 256, 264; letters to, 227, 231, 246, 249, 258, 259, 265, 267  
 Klausen, 64, 91, 92  
 Knightlie, —, 2  
  
 Knives, 169  
 Knowlton, 54  
 Kolokythia, 37  
 Konia, 62  
 Krecowitz, Frederick, imperial ambassador at Constantinople, 59, 153*n*; his house, 73, 77; his household, 58, 59, 153  
 Kurd Keui, 62  
 Kurds, the, 244*n*  
 Kurt Kulak, 63  
  
 Lacon, Sir Francis, 1*n*  
 La Ferté, 91, 94  
 Lahore, 215  
 Lamb, William, 2, 22  
 Lambeth church, 272  
 Lancaster, Sir James, xxiii, 212*n*  
 Landsberg, 64, 93  
*Lanneret*, the, 191, 196  
 Larnaka, 16, 63, 105  
 Latten, 134, 169  
 Launder, William, 47, 50*n*(2), 137  
 Laura, river, 153  
 'Lavender,' Theophilus, 260, 264  
 Lavis, 64, 91, 92  
 Lazaretto, 222  
 Lazarus, 104; tomb of, 63, 105  
 Leah, tomb of, 112  
 Leander, 38*n*, 62  
 Leate, Nicholas, 179(2), 238, 241, 252, 260, 265, 272; his goods, 207, 212(2); his daughter's marriage, 271; letters from, 190, 202; letters to, 186, 197, 201, 218  
 Leather work, 78  
 Lebanon, Mount, 101*n*, 108, 114; Sanderson crosses, 90, 95, 114, 118, 124, 125; cedars of, 118  
 Lech, river, 91, 93  
 Leeds, William, 277  
 Leghorn, 173(2)  
 Leigh, 55  
 Leipheim, 91, 93  
 Lello, Sir Henry, *passim*; secretary to Barton, xx, 14, 15*n*, 167, 282; succeeds him, xx, 18, 85*n*, 175; Sanderson objects to his appointment, 197; his salary and allowances, xxi, 182, 183, 189, 193, 194, 254; payments to, 192, 200; visits the Sultan, 178, 181; his bearing criticised, 225, 238, 242, 249; Kitley and, 256, 258, 264; Jonas

- Aldrich and, 263, 271; quarrels with Glover, *see* Glover; returns to England, xxxii, 235-9, 241, 242, 246; knighted, 246; his wealth, 241, 247; his gift to the Bodleian, 223*n*; Sanderson's relations with, 199, 221*n*, 224*n*, 246, 248-50, 254-8, 266, 271; and Hanger, 31*n*; proposed reappointment, 270; subscribes to East Indian voyage, 247; letters from, 174(2), 175, 192, 219, 221, 223; letters to, 192, 228, 236
- Lemnos, 39
- Leopards, 42, 57
- Lepanto, Gulf of, 10
- Lettuces, 43, 47*n*
- Levant Company, the, *passim*; rise of, xi-xiii; charter of 1581, xii; charter of 1592, xv-xvii, xxiv*n*; charter of 1600, xxiv, 207-9, 212; Governors of, *see* Lowe, Smythe, and Staper; secretary of, 195, 196; treasurers of, *see* Anderson and Eldred; flag of, xxiv; government and, xxiii, xxiv, 147*n*; presents to Sultan and Sultana, *see* Mehmet III and Safiya; orders special levy, 177, 181, 194, 196, 218, 237; payment resisted, 177, 178, 181, 182, 188-90, 194, 200, 214, 215, 218; remuneration to Sanderson, 183, 187, 189, 190, 195, 198, 200, 206, 208; effect of Dutch discoveries in trade of, 180, 190, 212; letters from, 130, 166, 193; letters to, 131, 158, 177, 181, 183, 184, 188, 200, 203, 205, 214, 219
- Levico, 64
- Ley, Hugh, 29, 31*n*
- 'Libbet,' 44*n*
- Lichtenau, 91, 93
- Lighthouse, 39; *see also* Pharos and Phanar
- Lillo. *See* Lello
- Limasol, 90
- Lincoln, Bishop of. *See* Barlow
- Lincolnshire, 246
- Lindos, 68
- Linen. *See* Botans
- Lions, 57, 59, 76
- Lisbon, 36
- Little Exchange*, the, 27, 239
- Little George*, the, 198
- 'Load' of money, 181
- Lock, —, 160
- Lombard, William, 18, 197, 205, 212(2)
- London, *passim*; James I's letter to the Lord Mayor, 287; plague in, 249, 255, 257, 266(2), 274; frost in, 249; Bishop of, 235, 236, 272; Tower of, 272, 274, 274*n*, 293
- Longitude reckoned from Ferro, 69*n*
- Longozadie, 262
- Lorraine, 93, 94(3); Cardinal of, 94
- Lough, Mrs Mary, 261, 275, 296; Sanderson's dispute with, xxxii, 20, 234*n*, 258, 263, 273, 275; her family, 274
- Lowe, Sir Thomas, xxxiii*n*, 241, 252
- Lowe, —, 217
- Lower, Sir William, 35
- 'Luder,' 292(3)
- Lunéville, 91, 94
- Lus, 97
- Lutes, 5, 233
- Luther, Jeffrey, 216
- Mace, trade in, 130, 172, 291
- Macedon, 56
- Madeira, 54, 55
- 'Magazine,' 158
- Magny, 91, 94
- Mahaleel, 97
- Main, river, 64
- Mainz, 64; Bishop of, 64
- 'Makebate,' 11, 281
- Malachi, tomb of, 105
- Malaga, 36, 56; wine, 31*n*
- Malamocco, 16, 27, 128
- Malice Scourge*, the, 213. *See also* *Dragon*, the
- 'Mallem,' 62, 147, 152
- Malta, 51, 56; ships of, 90, 136
- Mamre, plain of, 113
- Mangir*, 285
- 'Mansuled,' 58*n*, 142, 147, 214, 216, 264
- Mār Elyās, 109*n*
- Marabi, Salamon, 120, 125
- Marchham Meads, 251
- Mardin, 108
- Mareville-en-Brie, 94
- Mariani, Mariano, 138, 278
- Mariani, Pietro, 138(2), 150

- Mariani, Paulo, 138; vice-consul at Alexandria, 13, 129*n*; consul at Cairo, 13, 129*n*, 278(3); hanged, 13, 61; Barton and, 10, 13, 61, 129; Sanderson and, 277
- Marittimo, island, 37, 56
- Mark, St, 41
- Marlow, Anthony, 9, 15*n*, 287; goes home with Sanderson, 16(2); sails for East Indies, 236; letter to, 174
- Marne, river, 91, 94
- Maronites, the, 101*n*, 108
- Marseilles, 133, 134, 290
- Martin, (Sir) Richard, 279
- Martin, Richard, 24*n*
- Mary, the Virgin, 42(2), 44, 109, 110, 119; tomb of, 103
- Mary Magdalene, 104, 106
- Mary Rose, the, 205, 264
- Maryn, John, 170
- Masham, William, 3; his son, 3
- Mastic, 37*n*
- Matariya, el, 42, 44
- Matrey, 91, 92
- Matteo, —, 58
- Matthew, Tobias, Archbishop of York, 272
- Matthias Corvinus, 76
- Mauls, 64
- Mäuseturm, the, 64
- Mausoleum, the, 46
- Maximilian, Archduke, 92
- May, Rev. —, at Aleppo, 155, 175, 176, 187, 198; at Constantinople, 176*n*, 177, 198, 252, 254
- 'Meacock,' 217
- Meaux, 91, 94
- Mecca, 133; pilgrimage to, 45, 46, 52, 101*n*, 134; goods from and to, 53, 133-5
- Medina, 45
- Medine, 137, and *passim*; value of, 292, 294
- Mehmet, son of Solimān I, 73
- Mehmet II, 72(2); captures Constantinople, 68, 80; mosque of, 69, 70
- Mehmet III, 77, 169, 253; accession of, 58, 82*n*, 141; his brethren strangled, 58, 141; goes to the war in Hungary, 13, 58, 59, 145, 146, 149-51, 153, 156-8, 161-4; returns, 60, 161, 162; troubles with soldiery, 201, 216*n*, 223; witnesses executions, 85, 87, 88, 223; views the *Hector*, 177; releases German prisoners, 59, 153; revenues of, 82; character of, 142, 243, 275; correspondence with English sovereigns, 163*n*, 189, 210, 246, 253, 262; presents for, 161, 172-5, 177, 220*n*, 226, 227, 237, 242, 256, 273, 281, 282; Lello visits, 178, 181; portrait of, 35*n*; grants from, *see* Capitulations
- Mehmet Pasha (1), 73
- Mehmet Pasha (2), 73
- Mehmet Pasha (3), 204(2)
- Mehmet Pasha (4), 156
- Menagerie, the Sultan's, 38, 57
- Mercers' Company, 14*n*
- Merchant Adventurers' Company, xiv
- Merchant Royal*, the, 3, 16, 36, 51, 136; loss of, 16, 127
- Meredith, —, 7
- Mergentheim, 64
- Mermaid*, the, 19, 27, 217; Sanderson in, 90(2), 95, 124, 128, 213, 214, 216, 218, 219; at Constantinople, 208, 213-15, 218; goes to Syria, 216, 219
- Merrell, Charles, 18, 281, 287(2)
- Mesih Pasha, 73
- Messina, 136, 235; merchant of, 139; ships of, 215
- Messo*, 159-61, 170, 198
- Mestro, 92
- Michael, Prince of Transylvania, 203, 210(2)
- Michelborne, Sir Edward, 9*n*
- Middelburg, xiv, 7, 54, 64
- Middleton, David, 258*n*
- Midnall, John, 18; at Constantinople, 197(2), 200, 205, 281; goes to Aleppo, 199, 202; his journey to India, 18*n*, 210, 215; his voyage in the Black Sea, 297; speaks Persian, 298; death of, 18*n*
- Mildmay, Sir Thomas, 1*n*
- Milesius, Patriarch of Alexandria, 73, 126, 168, 223, 236*n*; of Constantinople, 73, 126, 127, 168; described, 126; Barton and, 280; Sanderson and, 121, 123, 125; his death, 73, 126
- Miletus, 66
- Mills, Thomas, 35
- Milo, 37



- Miltenburg, 64  
 Milton, John, xxix, 287  
*Mimon*, the, xvii, 148, 161  
 Misis, 63  
 Mitre tavern, the, 255  
 Mittenwald, 91, 92  
 Mitylene, 39, 84  
 Modoni, 18  
 Mohairs, 226  
 Moldavia. *See* Bugdania  
 Mongebella, Mount, 37  
 Monitor, Nilotic, 42*n*  
 Monkeys, 42  
 Montmirail, 91, 94  
 Mony, —, 230  
 Moorfields, xxxi, 288  
 More, Thomas, 8, 54*n*  
 Morea, the, 3, 18*n*, 37, 51, 56, 91, 189, 205, 254  
 Morgan, Sir Thomas, 7  
 Moriah, Mount, 101, 106  
 Mortimore, R., 8  
 Moryson, Fynes, 147*n*, 211*n*  
 Moryson, Henry, 147; death of, 147*n*, 165  
 Moryson, —, 211  
 Moselle, river, 94  
 Moses, 98(2), 99, 112  
 Mosques, 112*n*, 113  
 Mosul, 136  
 Motril, 36  
 Mounsie, Mary, 7  
 'Muccary,' 132  
 Mufti, 224; the Grand, 82, 201; *see also* S'ad-al-Din  
 Muhammad, the Prophet, 117; tomb of, 45, 52  
 Mules, 50, 52, 101*n*, 113, 116, 132*n*; hire of, 291  
 'Mummy,' 42, 44, 52; exportation of, 45, 49*n*  
 Mun, Elizabeth, 181*n*  
 Mun, John, 9, 12, 13; at Aleppo, 151*n*, 155, 165, 172; his brother-in-law, 181*n*  
 Mun, Thomas, 9*n*, 173; letter from, 173  
 Murād III, 57, 77; beautifies Constantinople, 72; correspondence with Queen Elizabeth, xii, 279; present to, 277; grants from, *see* Capitulations; family of, 58, 142; his wife, *see* Safiya; his death and burial, 58, 82*n*, 141  
 Murād Pasha, 262, 298(2); his campaigns against rebels, 188*n*, 244(2), 254, 261, 265; commands against Persians, 244, 254, 265  
 Muscadel, 207  
 Muscovy. *See* Russia  
 Mustafa, Turkish envoy, arrives in England, xxxiii, 239; his proceedings, xxxiii, 240, 241, 243; returns to Turkey, xxxiv  
 'Muster,' 44*n*  
*Mutaferriqah*, 157, 239  
 Mutes, 82, 89, 141  
 Naaman the Syrian, 96(3)  
 Nāblus, 99, 113  
 'Naghe,' 25  
 Nancy, 91, 94  
 Nano, Agostino, 250*n*  
 Naples, ships of, 136  
 Nativity, Church of the, 110  
 Naub, 96  
 Naumachia, 77  
*Navi Leone*, the, 176  
*Navi Ragazona*, the, 16, 63; loss of, 128  
*Navi Silvester*, the, 187  
 Nazareth, 115(4)  
 Negro, Cape, 56  
 Negroponte, 10, 56, 128  
 Neophytus, Patriarch of Constantinople, 223*n*  
 Nestorians, 108  
 Netherlands, the, 257. *See also* Flanders and Holland  
 Neumarkt, 64, 91, 92  
 Neus, 64  
 New Year's Day, 22*n*  
 Newbery, John, 277  
 Newcastle, 230  
 Newgate prison, 272  
 Newport, Sampson, 25, 197, 197*n*, 259, 281; letter from, 210  
 Nicosia, 63  
 Nile, river, 40(3), 41, 47(2), 128; its value, 49; cutting of the, 43(2)  
 Norfolk, 95*n*, 250*n*, 251; Sanderson visits, 246, 255, 265  
 Normandy, 94  
 Norris, Sir John, 279  
 Northallerton, 32*n*  
 Northampton, Earl of, 229  
 Northen, —, 173  
 Northumberland, Earl of, 293

- Nottingham, Abraham, 205, 206,  
     211, 217  
 Nottingham, Earl of, 207  
 Nutmegs, trade in, 17, 130, 137,  
     291; price of, 131*n*, 172  
 Nuts, 133  
 Nymeguen, 64  
  
 Offly, Robert, 208(2)  
 Ofield, —, 258  
 Oil, 185, 207  
 Oise, river, 94  
 Oke, 27, 133, 169, 203, 290, 292  
 Olives, Mount of, 19, 104-6, 109,  
     110  
 Organ presented to the Sultan,  
     177, 184, 185  
 Orontes, river, 63  
 Osborne, Sir Edward, xii, xvi, 45*n*  
 Osborne, —, 252  
 Osman, Kislär Agha, 223*n*  
 Ostheim, 64  
 Ostriches, 43  
 Otmer, Ann, 33*n*  
 Otmer, Lewis, 33*n*, 199(2)  
 Otranto, 91  
 Over, Hugh, 35  
 Owram, William, 205  
 Oxford, 45, 240, 264, 288  
  
 Padilla, Martin de, 180  
 Padua, 268  
 Page, Sir William, 231  
 Palaeologus, Michael, 68  
 Paleneva, —, 157  
 Palermo, 26  
 Palladium, the, 67  
 Palmer, Sir Henry, 54  
 Pantalaria, 51  
 Panthers, 69  
 Paper, trade in, 133  
 Parenzo, 91  
 Paris, 91, 94  
 Partenkirchen, 64  
 Parthians, the, 66  
 Partridges, 37*n*  
 Passaro, Cape, 37  
 'Patch,' 252  
 Pate, William, 18, 281  
 Patmos, 37  
 Patras, 18*n*(2), 176*n*, 203, 206, 270,  
     271; Sanderson at, 9, 16, 37, 56;  
     consuls at, *see* Aldrich (Jonas),  
     Gould, Nottingham, and Revet  
  
 Patriarchs. *See* Alexandria, Con-  
     stantinople, and Jerusalem  
 Paul, the Apostle, 62, 63, 116*n*, 119,  
     168  
 Pausanias, 65  
 Peacock, Lancelot, 32; his wife, 32  
 Peacock, Mrs (Glover's sister), 229,  
     256, 268; her husband, 256, 257,  
     268  
 Peacock, Robert, 32*n*  
 Pearch, William, 217, 220, 220*n*,  
     231, 259  
 Pearl, mother of, 89  
 Pearl, the, 257  
 Pearls, 78, 185, 228  
 Peik, 82  
 Pennacchio, 243  
 Pentateuch, the, 84  
 Pepper, trade in, 53, 131, 133, 135,  
     137(2), 190, 219, 291; price of,  
     131*n*, 135, 203, 219  
 Pera, 10, 60*n*, 81; letters from,  
     *passim*; 'Vines of,' 60, 223, 239  
 Percie, T., 8  
 Percivall, Francis, 269*n*  
 Peregrine, the, 16*n*, 173, 191, 202  
 Persia, 66, 108, 177, 240, 286, 297;  
     King of, 176, 203, 275, 298;  
     travels in, 215; the Sherleys in,  
     176, 215; trade between Turkey  
     and, 145; war between the two  
     countries, 244, 262, 265, 275, 294;  
     peace overtures, 275; ambassadors  
     from, 162(2), 169, 262  
 Perte, 64  
 Pesans, 291  
 Pesatore, 135  
 Pescennius Niger, 66  
 Peso, 292(3)  
 Peter, the Apostle, 63, 98, 114, 119  
 Petimaghae, 284  
 Petrified forest, 44  
 Peyton, Sir Samuel, 251  
 Peyton, Sir Thomas, 7, 54*n*, 251(2)  
 Pfalzburg, 91, 94  
 Phanar, the, 80  
 Pharaoh, 41, 44  
 Pharaoh's fig tree, 48  
 Pharos, the, at Alexandria, 39, 41  
 Pharphar, river, 96  
 Phelps, Sir Edward, 274  
 Philip of Macedon, 56, 65, 66  
 Philpot, Alice, 35  
 Philpot Lane, 45*n*

- Phinehas, 99  
 Physicians, College of, 267; lines  
   ridiculing, 293  
 Piastre, 295  
 Pickering, —, 293  
 Pigeons, carrier, 43  
*Pik*, 208  
 Pilate, house of, 103  
 Pindar, (Sir) Paul, at Constantinople,  
   85*n*, 182; secretary to Lello, 181*n*,  
   281; sent to England, 184, 185,  
   185*n*, 189, 191, 193, 205, 220; at  
   Venice, 222; consul at Aleppo, 241,  
   252, 270; appointed ambassador,  
   273*n*; present to, 181; his pro-  
   posals for a bank in London, 257;  
   character of, 186; letters from, 222,  
   257*n*, 269*n*  
 Pinder, —, 255  
 Piracies in the Levant. *See*  
   Privateers  
 Placote, 67  
 Plague, in London, 249, 257, 266(2),  
   274; in Germany, 222; at Con-  
   stantinople, 12, 68, 259, 296; at  
   Aleppo, 221; in Egypt, 4, 137, 138;  
   among date palms, 49  
 Planca, M. de, 13  
 Plantains, 47*n*, 48  
 Plate presented to the Sultan, 277  
 Plochingen, 91, 93  
 Plymouth, 84, 173(2)  
 Po, river, 92  
 Poland, 210, 271; King of, xxxvii,  
   157, 245, 275; embassy from, 169;  
   merchants from, 169; coins of,  
   295; civil war in, 245; invaded by  
   Tartars, 245; relations between  
   Turkey and, 59, 210, 240, 279,  
   283; English trade with, 279;  
   Queen Elizabeth intervenes on be-  
   half of, 279(2)  
 Pompey's pillars, at Alexandria,  
   41*n*; at Constantinople, 73, 77; at  
   the Hellespont, 39; at Rome, 77  
 Pontoise, 91, 94  
 Porphyry, 67, 71, 72  
 Portland, 51  
 Porto Rico, 148  
 Portugal, 279; pretender to the  
   throne of, 213  
 Postage of letters, 230, 231, 257  
 Poure, Leonard, 193*n*  
 Powell, J., 9  
 Privateers in the Mediterranean,  
   215; complaints regarding, xxxiv,  
   203, 207, 209-11  
 Privy Council, the, 147*n*, 213, 274;  
   complaints to, 207, 210; instruc-  
   tions from, 253, 256, 288  
 Pronatichi Colinithra, 103  
*Proveditore*, 12  
 Prunes, 5  
 'Pugill,' 232  
 Purchas, Rev. Samuel, xxxix; letter  
   to, 276; bequest to, xxxix, 34  
 Puritans, the, 217, 252, 254, 263,  
   281, 288, 293  
 Pyramids, the, 42; Sanderson visits,  
   44, 50, 52, 53  
  
*Qadis*, 13, 56*n*, 61, 138, 147, 283,  
   284; pay of, 82  
*Qadi el-'Asker*, 41*n*, 43, 43*n*, 129,  
   135, 139, 201  
*Qāfila*, 53  
*Qahba*, 87*n*  
 Qalandar-oghlu, rebellion of, 244,  
   244*n*, 245, 253, 256, 265. *See also*  
   Anatolia  
 Qapu Agha, 82, 86, 183, 201, 204,  
   216*n*, 223  
 Qapudān Pasha, 82, 86*n*. *See also*  
   Khalil and Sinān  
*Qapujy*, 82, 156  
 Qarapunar, 62  
*Qassam*, 284  
*Qayiq*, 72, 89  
 Queen-Mother, the. *See* Safiya  
 Quicksilver, 134(2)  
 Quintal, *passim*; weight of, 53,  
   290-2  
 Quneitra, el, 96, 116, 116*n*  
*Qysmat*, 284  
  
 Rabbet, Rev. Michael, 115*n*  
 Rachel, tomb of, 110  
 Radishes, 43  
 Raffa, 286  
 Ragusa, 133, 238  
*Raki*, 9  
*Ramazan*, 88  
 Rame, er-, 100(2)  
 Raphaghamak, 88*n*  
 Rastatt, 91, 93  
*Rail*, 290, 291  
 Ravis, Thomas, Bishop of London,  
   236

- Raymond, George, xxiii  
 Rebecca, tomb of, 112  
 Red Sea, the, 133  
 Reeve, Edward, 8, 8*n*  
 Rejeb, 170  
 Reuben, 96  
 Revet, —, consul at Patras, 3  
 Rhine, river, 93  
 Rhodes, 30, 91; described, 39; Sanderson at, 4, 39, 84, 95; Captain of, 4  
 Rials of eight, 180, 215, 292, 295  
 Rickman, —, 53  
 Rimmon, 96  
 Rings sent for sale, 227  
 Rive, Edward. *See* Reeve  
 Rivers, Edward, 8, 9(2), 11, 12, 54*n*, 61  
 Roberts, John, 247  
 Roberts, —, 248  
 Robinson, Humphrey, 187  
 Rochester, Bishop of, 289  
 Rodosto, 38  
 Roebucks, 47, 57  
 Romani, Mount, 117  
 Rome, 67, 104; obelisk at, 74; Pompey's pillar at, 77  
*Rosa solis*, 15  
 Rose, Edward, 15  
 Rosetta, 40, 46, 50, 52, 127; Sanderson wrecked at, 4, 47, 52, 127, 132; plague at, 4  
 Rosino, Moses, 120, 121, 125  
 Rotula, 290, 291  
 Rouen, 91, 94  
 Roules, Elkin, 16  
 Rovigno, 91  
 Rowland, —, 255  
 Rowse, Henry, 35  
*Royal Defence*, the, 26, 213, 214; her voyages to the Black Sea, 261, 262  
*Royal Exchange*, the; *see* *Exchange*, the  
 Rubies, 85*n*, 185(2), 228  
 Rüdesheim, 64  
 Rudolph II, the Emperor, 92, 266; his war with the Turks, 58, 59, 156-8, 161-4; negotiations for peace, 253; peace concluded, 256, 265; his ambassadors in Constantinople, *see* Herberstein and Krecowitz  
 Ruhrort, 64  
 Rush, Peter, 3  
 Russemason, 91, 94  
 Russia, 176, 257, 275, 286  
 Rustam Pasha, 73, 73*n*, 74  
 Saarebourg, 91, 94  
 Sabbatical river, the, 120  
 Sack, 31*n*  
 Sacunta, Dr, 201  
 Sa'd-al-Din, Khoja Efendi, 61; death of, 181, 183  
 Safed, 98, 114, 124, 126; described, 97, 98; Sanderson at, 19, 97, 115, 116  
 Saffi, 55  
 Safiya, the Sultana, 87*n*, 156(2), 162(2), 216*n*; her great influence, 61, 86, 87, 204; her banishment demanded, 201; coach presented to, 181; her letters and presents to Queen Elizabeth, 85*n*, 184, 185, 189; mosques built by, 69, 204  
 Saïda. *See* Sidon  
 St Andrew's chapel at Patras, 37  
 St Aubin, 91, 94  
 St Demetrio, 72  
 St Denis, 91  
 St Faith's church, 2, 21(2), 34*n*; bequest to, 34(2)  
 St Giles, Cripplegate, xxxi, 35  
 St Jean, 91, 94  
 St Lawrence Jewry, 20, 20*n*(2), 32*n*, 33, 33*n*, 115*n*  
 St Nicholas du Port, 91, 94  
 St Paul's Cathedral, 102, 234, 265; the Cross at, 1, 2  
 St Paul's School, xi, 2*n*, 20*n*  
 St Peter-le-Poor, 8  
 St Peter's at Rome, 75  
 St Vincent, Cape, 16, 36, 51  
 Salabrina, Mount, 36, 56  
*Salah*, 89*n*  
 Salinos, the, 63  
 Salisbury, Earl of. *See* Cecil, Sir Robert  
 Salonika, 16, 56, 135; Bishop of, 264  
 Salt, 16, 63*n*  
 Salter, Anne, 268  
 Salter, George, 213, 248  
 Salter (Sir) Nicholas, xvii, xxx, 17, 17*n*, 24*n*, 171, 186, 187, 193*n*, 199(2), 207, 209, 217, 219, 230, 268, 287, 293; intervenes in dispute over Hanger, 24(2), 29(3),

- 31*n*, 208; presents to, 290; his wife and family, 213, 290; letters from, 166*n*, 184, 191, 208, 209; letters to, 178, 179, 182, 183, 187*n*, 197, 199, 204, 205, 206*n*, 210, 212, 213
- Salter, Nicholas, Junior, 50*n*
- Samaria. *See* Sebustiye
- Samaria, the Woman of, 113
- Samaritan*, the, 8, 9, 54, 55, 128
- Samcania, Mount, 95
- Samos, 68; Sanderson at, 39, 84
- Samuel, the Prophet, tomb of, 100; house and well of, 100
- Samuel*, the, 91
- Sanderson, Barbara, 34
- Sanderson, Grace (Mrs Hopkins), xi, 21, 22*n*, 23*n*, 32, 34, 217; her marriage, xx, 17, 32, 32*n*; her death, xxxviii, 20
- Sanderson, Henry, xxix, xxx, 230*n*; debts due from, xxx, 35, 230; letters to, 225, 230, 261
- Sanderson, Mrs Isabel, xi, 1, 21, 22; her death, xxxviii, 20, 22; her estate, 22
- Sanderson, Jane, xi, 21
- Sanderson, John, *passim*; his pedigree, 33, 35; his arms, xxix; his motto, xxix, 34; portrait of, xli, 33; a musician, xxxii, 5; knows Italian, 141; his celibacy, xxix, 221, 255, 266; his diet, 232; uses tobacco, 227, 232; sketches by, xxxix; consults Kitley about his health, x, 227, 231, 247, 268; his interests in Ireland, 34, 273*n*; his appointment as vice-consul in Egypt, 277, 278; his death, xxxix; his will, 34, 217
- Sanderson, John (godson), 34, 35
- Sanderson, Lucy, 21
- Sanderson, Mary, 34, 35
- Sanderson, Richard, 32*n*
- Sanderson, Robert, 21
- Sanderson, Samuel, xxx, 34, 35, 230*n*, 261; debt due from, 35
- Sanderson, Thomas, Senior, x, 3, 20-22, 32*n*; illness and death of, x, xi, 2, 21; his tomb, 21, 22; his dwelling, 21
- Sanderson, Rev. Thomas, xi, xxxi, 20-3, 32, 45, 185, 222, 240, 288; John's relations with, xx, xxix, 23*n*, 33, 109*n*, 179, 198, 209; his wife, xxxi, 33*n*, 264; books and MSS. for, 85, 115*n*, 218, 221, 223, 228(2), 236, 236*n*; one of the translators of the New Testament, xxxi, 85, 115*n*, 228; letters to, 199, 217, 221; his death, xxxviii, 20
- Sandwich, 54, 64, 128
- Sandy, Robert, 186, 208
- Sandy, Thomas, 163*n*, 168, 170, 171(2); appointed consul for Aleppo, 147-50, 155, 159, 160; death of, 154(2), 156, 166, 167
- Santa Croce, Mount, 63*n*
- Santa Cruz, 55
- 'Sapetta,' 27, 58*n*
- Sapientia, Cape, 91
- Sapphires, 228
- Sara, tomb of, 112
- Sarafand, 95
- Sardinia, 37
- Sarghāya, 117
- Saris, Edmund, 274*n*
- Sarrājiana*, 78
- Sarsaparilla, 27, 228, 237
- Sa'sa', 96, 116, 116*n*
- Satin, 60, 122, 133, 249
- Saul, 99
- Savoy, 213, 246
- Sayes, 292(2)
- Sayyid*, 90
- Sbiacco, 228
- 'Scafathe,' 49
- Scanderoun, 15, 30, 172, 284; Sanderson at, 63, 84, 90, 128, 174-6, 213, 222; Venetians and French at 167, 168; Dutch at, 199; warehouse at, 167; unhealthy, 220; ships at or for, 90, 149, 161, 170, 176, 187, 200, 214, 216, 217, 263
- Scarpanto, 91
- Scharnitz, 91, 92
- Schenkenschantz, 64
- Schongau, 64, 91, 93
- Scio, 18, 30, 218, 267; described, 37*n*; Sanderson at, 4, 37, 39, 84, 95; inhabitants of, 53, 120, 124, 125, 252, 256; ships for or from, 16, 124, 149(3), 161, 170, 200, 202, 213, 237; letters from, 190, 224; letters to, 184, 185
- Scoll, Alice, 35
- Scoll, William, 35
- Scot, Peter, 11, 145(2), 282

- Scotland, affairs in, 191; silver mine in, 252, 257; negotiations for union with England, 235, 236
- Scotsmen, ridicule of, 292
- Scottow, —, 2
- Scrivano*, 41*n*, 188
- Scudo*, 295
- Scutari, 30, 64, 66, 67, 69, 81, 163, 262; Sanderson at, 62(2); threatened by rebels, 244, 245
- Seahorses' teeth, 17, 89, 212
- Sebastiano, Don, 213*n*
- Sebustiye, 96, 97, 99
- Seefeld, 64
- Segar, Sir William, 292
- Segbān*, 244
- Selby, Lady, 257
- Selim I, mosque of, 70
- Selim II, 57; mosque of, 71, 76; tomb of, 71; wife of, 80(2)
- Senna, 231
- Sepulchre, the Holy, 102, 106-9; Knights of, 111*n*, 290
- Sequin. *See* Chequin
- Seraglio, the, at Constantinople, 70, 72(2), 78, 80, 88, 162, 216
- Seraglio Point, 162
- Serigo, 37
- Seroluo, Emanuel, 40*n*
- 'Seron,' 49
- Serpent Column, the, 76, 85
- Serpents, 42, 76
- Sestos, 38*n*, 62
- Seven Towers, the, 62, 81, 89*n*
- Severus, Septimius, 66
- Seymour, William, 274
- Shales, William, xiii, 45*n*, 47, 47*n*, 50*n*(2), 53*n*; letters from, 131, 137, 277
- Shamsis, the, 108
- Shar merdany, 137, 138
- Sharp, —, 247
- Sharpie, Alexander, 224, 224*n*, 231, 247
- Shashes, 96*n*, 136, 233, 239, 249
- Shell-boat, 39*n*
- Sherbet, 49
- Sherley, Sir Anthony, 176
- Sherley, (Sir) Robert, xxxv, 176, 215
- Sherley, Sir Thomas, 256
- Shōmrōn. *See* Sebustiye
- Sichem, 19, 99, 113
- Sicily, 37, 51, 56, 133; ships of, 136; Viceroy of, 136(2)
- Sidi el Batal, 62
- Sidon, 18, 30, 116, 216-18; Sanderson at, 90, 95, 124(2), 128
- Sierra Nevada, the, 36*n*
- Siliwri, 77, 81
- Silk (raw), trade in, 131, 137(3), 138(3), 144, 148, 189, 241, 291; price of, 131*n*, 172; spinning of, 77
- Silk goods, 78, 96*n*, 226*n*
- Siloam, Pool of, 105
- Silver mine in Scotland, 252, 257
- Silver, cloth of, 185
- Simon, tomb of, 106
- Simonds, Thomas, 181*n*, 186; letters from, 166*n*, 209, 211; letters to, 181, 216
- Simpson, Fabian, 35
- Simpson, Giles, 251; his widow, 251*n*
- Simpson, John, 34
- Sinān Pasha, 129(3), 142, 149, 204; notice of, 149*n*
- Sinān Pasha (Cigala-oghlu), 157, 187, 203, 216*n*, 285; notice of, 86*n*; dismissed from post of Grand Admiral, 58*n*, 142; reinstated, 86*n*, 163; in the Hungarian campaign, 142, 156, 157; at battle of Keresztes, 163; his house, 157; mosque built by, 73
- Sion, Mount, 102, 105
- Sisera, 98(2)
- Sixtus V, Pope, 74, 75*n*
- Skoggs, —, 255
- Slaves, 78
- Sluys, 180
- Smyrna, 120, 124, 125, 213, 218; Archbishop of, 280
- Smythe, Thomas, Senior, xii
- Smythe, (Sir) Thomas, Governor of the Levant Company, xi*n*, xxiv, 193*n*, 204; letters from, 176*n*, 207; letter to, 218
- Snikwere, 64
- Soap, 90, 187, 291
- Sodom, 97; Lake of, *see* Dead Sea
- Sofia, 150, 151
- Sofista, Leon, 65, 66
- Solaq*, 82
- Solīmān I, 70, 72-4, 76, 78, 79; mosque of, 70, 72, 203
- Solomon, 112; his Porch, 101; his study, 102; his temple, 101; his tomb, 102

- 'Some,' 165  
 Somerset House, 229  
 Sophia, St, 70(2); described, 71  
 Sophronius. *See* Jerusalem, Patriarch of  
 Sotheren, Elizeus, 151*n*, 165(2), 287; letters from, 175(2), 189  
 Spahis, 48, 82, 245; pay of, 145; outbreaks of, 57, 85-7, 201, 203, 204, 216*n*, 223; commander of, 82  
 Spain, 257, 259, 271; King of, 173; troubles in, 131; Calais taken, 148, 160; English war with, 161, 173, 180, 279(2); peace negotiations, 191, 213, 250; peace concluded, 229; embassy to, 274; Dutch war with, 180, 191; peace negotiations, 191, 250; truce concluded, 235, 236; peace concluded, 263, 266  
 Spanish ships, encounters with, 8, 55(2), 90(2), 161  
 Spartel, Cape, 51, 128  
 Speed, John, ix, xxxi, 239  
 Spencer, Sir John, 6, 171*n*, 172  
 Spenser, Dr John, 115*n*  
 Sphinx, the, 44  
 Spices, trade in, 176, 189, 190, 212; at Cairo, 133, 137(2); customs duties on, 291. *See also* Cloves, Nutmegs, etc.  
 Spikenard, 134  
 Stadl, 91, 93  
 'Stafana,' 85*n*, 185(2)  
 Stafford, Lady, 1  
 Stamboul, 15, 18. *See also* Constantinople  
 Stannard, Obadiah, 35  
 Staper, Hewet, 111*n*, 205*n*, 236, 238, 252, 265; marriage of, 236, 238, 258  
 Staper, Richard, Senior, xii, 18*n*, 208, 235, 239, 241(2); Governor of the Levant Company, xxii*n*, 182, 193*n*, 204, 206, 214, 224*n*; death of, 251; letters from, 160, 166*n*; letters to, 165, 168; his sons, 18*n*, 214, 241  
 Staper, Richard, Junior, 18*n*  
 Staper, Rowland, 18*n*  
 Staper, Thomas, 18*n*  
 Staple merchant, 1  
 Star Chamber, 293  
 Starkie, —, 13  
 Stefano Janiculo. *See* Bugdania, Prince of  
 Stefano Vivoda, 88-90  
 Stephen, St, 104  
*Stephen*, the, 16  
 Sterzing, 91, 92  
 Still, John, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 235  
 Stockings, 199, 222, 226*n*  
 Stoker, Matthew, 269*n*  
 Stone, Samuel, 50*n*  
 Stone, Sir William, 292  
 Stone, —, 268  
 Story, James, 277  
 Strachey, John, 197*n*, 220*n*  
 Strachey, William, 247*n*, 258; note on, 258*n*  
 Strasbourg, 91, 93; Bishop of, 93  
 Strigonium, 163  
 Strivali, 91  
 Stuart, Lady Arabella, xxxvi, 274  
 Stuttgart, 91, 93  
*Subāshī*, 122  
 Suckling, —, 203  
 Suez, 53, 135, 137, 219  
 Sugar, 157  
*Sultāni* (coin), 107*n*, 158; note on, 294  
 Sumach, 131  
 Sūr, 95  
*Susan*, the, 136, 171, 176, 213  
 Synagogues, at Constantinople, 73*n*, 198; at Jobar, 95  
 Syria, 108; trade in, 178, 179. *See also* Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli, etc.  
 Tabor, Mount, 98  
 Taffeta, 133  
 Tallow, 144  
 Tana, river, 286  
 Tanhuer, 91, 94  
 Taradono, 57  
 Taregretta, 217  
 Tarsus, 63  
 Tartars, aid Turks, 156, 157; invade Poland, 245; King of, 157, 245; his brother, 157  
 Tartary, 240  
 'Tartugle,' 231, 233, 249  
 Tauberbischofsheim, 64  
*Tenasmōne*, 15  
 Terceira, 173  
 Tett, William, 5  
 Thaler, 295  
 Thames, the, frozen, 249

- Thebes, 56  
 Theodosius I, obelisk of, 75(2), 76, 85  
 Theodosius II, 67*n*  
 Thessalonica, 56  
 Thickpenny, Leonard, 293  
 Three Kings, monument of the, 64  
 Tiberias, 97, 98, 113, 113*n*, 124  
 Tieffenbron, 91, 93  
 Tiel, 64  
 Tient, Jasper, 18, 105*n*, 147, 205; assaults Sanderson, 18, 31*n*, 197*n*; bound for Aleppo, 199(2), 202; goes to Jerusalem, 215  
 Ties, John, 13  
 Tiger, the, 50, 53  
 Tighe, Dr Robert, 115*n*  
 Tilbury, 55, 84  
 Timar, 157  
 Timberley, Henry, 106*n*, 121(3)  
 Tin, trade in, 27(3), 30, 144, 148, 169(2), 172(2), 193, 232, 240, 287, 291, 292; price of, 172, 193  
 Tipton, John, consul at Algiers, 10, 12, 13  
 Tobacco, 227, 232  
 Toby, the, 9, 51(2), 53, 55, 128, 136; loss of, 16, 128  
 Tom, Lello's butler, 247  
 Tomson, James, 130  
 Tomson, Jasper, 165  
 Tonson, T., 130  
 'Toot,' 89*n*  
 Toothpicks, 233(2), 239, 249  
 Topazes, 228  
 Topgy, 83  
 Töp-khāna, the, at Constantinople, 14, 81, 88, 162  
 Tor, 135, 137  
 Tōra, river, 96  
 Tortoise-shell. *See* Tartugle  
 Totes, 94  
 Toul, 91, 94  
 Towerson, James, 278; death of, 136  
 Townrow, Stephen, 250(2)  
 Transylvania, 156, 157, 245; Prince of, 203, 210*n*, 253, 275, 276; ambassador from, 253  
 Trapani, 136  
 Treacle, 42  
 Treasurer, Lord. *See* Burleigh, Lord  
 Trebizond, 297(2)  
 Treviso, 64, 92  
 Trient, 64, 91, 92  
 Tripoli (in Syria), 3, 4, 18*n*, 47, 50*n*, 128(2), 137, 157, 222, 262; unhealthy, 5, 50*n*, 53; *Emir* of, 90, 101*n*, 118; *Qadi* of, 90; castle at, 90; Sanderson at, 5, 50, 51, 53, 90(3), 101*n*, 118, 121, 123-7, 136, 140, 221; friars at, 19, 123; Italians at, 19; French at, 148; weights etc. at, 290-2  
 Trojan, the, 19, 90(2), 214; wrecked, 90, 128  
 Troy, 38, 39, 57, 67, 95, 128  
 'Trubkin,' 86  
 Turbans, 157, 243  
 Turban-cloths. *See* Shashes  
 Turkey, *passim*; provinces of, 280; coins used in, 294; relations with the Emperor, *see* Rudolph II; relations with Persia, *see* Persia; Sultans of, *see* Mehmet III and Murād III  
 Turkey Company. *See* Levant Company  
 Turmeric, 131*n*  
 Turnips, 43  
 Turquoises, 32  
 Tyre, 95, 120(2), 125  
 Tyrol, the, 92; Count of, 92  
  
 Ulm, 91, 93  
 Ulu Qishla, 62  
 Unicorn's horn, 228  
 Urbino, Salamon di, 120, 126  
 Urfa, 88*n*, 186, 188  
 Usche, Salamon, 82*n*  
  
 Vakil, 156  
 Van Neck, Jacob C., 180*n*  
 Vanguard, the, 91, 128  
 Varnishes, 131  
 Varuh, 106  
 Vasiliko, 10, 56, 56*n*  
 Vaughan, Richard, Bishop of London, 235  
 Velasco, Ferdinando de, 229  
 Velvet, 59*n*, 60, 122; trade in, 133  
 Venetian consul at Aleppo, 15; consul at Cairo, 50, 53; ambassador at Constantinople, *passim*; trade in Egypt, 132-7; trade in Turkey, 212, 283; trade at Aleppo, 148, 170; trade at Scanderoon, 167, 168



- Venetians capture Constantinople, 68
- Venice, 170, 177, 189, 213, 228, 240, 257; inundation at, 214; ships of, 40, 52, 63, 132, 133, 136, 158, 187, 215; English ships go to, 16, 148, 161(2); Sanderson at, 16, 19, 63, 64, 91, 92, 128(2); other Englishmen at, 160, 165, 178, 241, 250; bills on, 192(2), 200(2); letters from, 173, 213, 222; letters to, 216
- Vento, Christofero, 129, 138, 139, 278
- Venturin, —, 135
- Vermilion, 134(2)
- Vezir-i-a'zam*, the, 201, 265
- Vilna, 245
- Vineyard*, the, 231
- Virginia, news from, 272; ship from, 258; colonists for, 263, 265, 266
- Viziers, *passim*; pay of, 82
- Vostitza, 56
- 'Wailing Wall,' the, 101
- Walachia, 188, 210, 245, 262; Waiwode of, 88*n*
- Waller, Sir Thomas, xxxiv*n*
- Wallstadt, 64
- Walsingham, Sir Francis, 278, 279
- Walters, John, 35
- Walthall, William, 255*n*; his widow, 255
- Walton, William, 10
- Warren, John, 217, 220*n*, 282
- Watchet, 233
- Waterspouts, 50*n*
- Webb, T., 6(2)
- Weiltingen, 64
- Wercan, 64
- Wesel, 64
- Wheat, 43
- Whethill, Margaret, 1*n*
- Whethill, Richard, 1
- Whitebred, Rev. —, 7
- Whitgift, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 33(3), 217, 293
- Wight, Isle of, 3, 36
- Wilby, Dorothy, 34
- Wilcocks, —, 10
- Wilkinson, —, 3
- William and John*, the, 3, 136
- Wilson, Thomas, books by, 242, 247, 248
- Winchester, Dean of, 236
- Windmill tavern, the, 251*n*
- Wine, permission to make, in Turkey, 284; permits for importation duty-free in England, 289(2)
- Wingfield, Henry, 58*n*, 143
- Wire, 144, 169
- Withers, Robert, 89*n*
- Wolf, Mrs Elizabeth, 34
- Wood, Benjamin, xxiii
- Wood dear in Cairo, 48*n*
- Woodruff, Lady, 1
- Wool, trade in, 116, 130, 216, 217
- Wormseeds, 131*n*
- Wrag, John, 11, 12, 187
- Wrath, —, 293
- Wright, Richard, 196
- Wylde, John, 271
- Yāqūq, 98
- Yancoline. *See* Bugdania, Prince of Yenishkehr, 62
- Yermi. *See* Jermi
- York, 246; Archbishop of, 272, 288
- Young, —, 293
- Zabern, 93
- Zachariah, tomb of, 105
- Zante, 27, 30, 171, 189, 264; Sanderson at, 19, 37, 56, 84, 91, 128, 222; ships at, 56, 172, 198; news from, 210, 211(2)
- Zarni, 98
- Zawerjik, 63
- Zealand, 160, 212, 285
- Zebulon, tomb of, 95
- Zedekiah, 103
- Zephaniah, tomb of, 95
- Zeroi, 135
- Zibellino*, 78
- Zir'in, 98*n*
- Zonaras, Joannes, 67
- Zons, 64
- Zouch, Lord, 38*n*
- Zusmarshausen, 91, 93

